

# Comment on the Week

VOL. LXXVII, NO. 6, MAY 10, 1947

## *Our Greek policy*

During the Senate debate on the bill to aid Greece and Turkey, it was made abundantly clear that we had no intention of stopping Soviet imperialism in the Balkans by propping up the forces of reaction. In line with this policy, we suggest that the Administration give careful consideration to the report submitted by Irving Brown to the Free Trade Union Committee of the AFL. After intensive, on-the-ground study of the situation, Mr. Brown recommended: 1) that in return for economic aid we require a greater degree of democracy in the Government, "even though, compared to Russia and its dominated spheres, the present Greek society is a model of democracy"; 2) that loans for reconstruction be safeguarded from diversion to speculative channels; 3) that economic aid be especially directed to raising the low living standards of the masses; 4) that the Greek Government be asked to sponsor a Bill of Rights for workers. These recommendations are at the same time practical and in perfect harmony with our announced intention of stopping communist aggression. As Mr. Brown pointed out, the low living standard of the Greek masses is "the real breeding ground for the Communist Party's advances." Unless we see to it that our funds are used to overcome the fundamental weaknesses of Greece, we shall be spending them on a rear-guard action that can at best be only temporarily successful. As for the AFL, it can add new lustre to its fight for democracy abroad by helping to rescue Greek trade unions from their present lamentable condition. Most of them have either been captured by the Communists or are wholly subservient to the Government.

## *Truman price crusade*

As President Truman continued his campaign for lower prices, business temperatures kept sharply rising. There was little evidence, though, that business men were being stampeded by public pressure into a course of action which was in conflict with their traditional practices and with the whole spirit of capitalistic enterprise. Only a few communities followed the example of Newburyport, Mass., where retailers cut prices ten per cent on a city-wide basis, and it was a question how long the embattled retailers could hold out. Wholesale prices remained high and, save in a few well-publicized cases, there was little evidence that manufacturers had been converted to the Truman doctrine. Asked at a press conference whether, in the event his voluntary approach failed, he had other measures in view, President Truman replied in the negative, said that if business men insisted on pricing their products out of the market, it was their own funeral. The trouble was that if this happened, it would be the funeral of many others also. There was a possibility, however, that the President's voluntary methods might

achieve a partial success. The public was becoming increasingly price conscious, increasingly stubborn about paying all the traffic would bear. This was the reason why retailers were taking the lead in cutting prices. Unlike the producer of raw materials or the manufacturers, they come face to face with the customer and are in a position to know what he is thinking. And so what Mr. Truman could not achieve by direct appeal, may yet be accomplished indirectly, through aroused and angry consumers. But amid the uproar, NAM President Earl Bunting said at Boston: "I am still firmly convinced that the forces of competition will automatically drive prices down." The NAM was not yet ready to admit that in liquidating price controls it had made one of the classic bum guesses of recent times.

## *Voice of America: muted or still?*

It is regrettable, but perhaps inevitable, that our State Department's Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) should be dogged, two years after the end of hostilities, by the sinister tag and implications of "psychological warfare." Organized and operated separately under Presidential order during the war, both of the merged Informational and Cultural offices, despite some rocky and raucous moments for the OWI, did achieve better than mediocre over-all success in competition with Axis mouthpieces and other agencies of "propaganda." We have all been uneasy about the possibility of supplying the delicate checks and balances necessary to transform our war-time "propaganda ministry" into a constructive, convenient and representative instrument of peace-time understanding. But only some obscure rumblings backstairs had prepared us for the recent drastic action of the House Appropriations Committee, which killed outright the \$20-million OIC budget for fiscal 1948. Unless the Senate intervenes to restore the appropriation before June 30, this action effectively silences the "Voice of America," broadcast today in twenty-five languages (including Russian) over thirty-six radio stations; it closes seventy libraries in forty-four countries; it withdraws support from virtually all American cultural institutions abroad, several of them closely allied to missionary schools and projects. It is difficult to believe that motives of economy and/or partisan political advantage alone could have dictated an excision of this scope and consequence. We hope the Senate will provide us with a full airing of the real reasons before it signs the death-warrant. What exactly is wrong with the organ or its functioning? And why not a full-dress debate on "propaganda" principles and policies now, while we are defending so hotly the "fundamental freedom" of communication? Clearly we are not yet at peace. Clearly the "peace-loving" nations are far from "understanding" one another, not least because some of them obviously

find the free and friendly interchange of information from people to people a dangerous threat to the political regime in power. This is no time for America to go "off the air." Her voice and heart must somehow still be heard, and not merely the clinking of her moneybags.

### **Statistics of life and mercy**

The fact that New York City has the lowest maternity death rate in the world is in part attributable to the constant analysis of causes of death made by the expert statistical work of the city's unobtrusive, competent Registrar of Medical Records, Dr. Caroline R. Martin, Catholic woman physician, whose book *Hospital Medical Statistics* and whose methods have won national and international recognition. As one doctor put it: "Dr. Martin has brought dead records to life, thus helping to save lives." Herself unmarried, though with two adopted children now in high school, Dr. Martin was instrumental in establishing the first parochial schools in the old Jesuit missions of her native St. Mary's County, Maryland. A farm girl herself by origin, she has never lost her keen interest in the problems of country children. Her life work is an example of how the most rigid scientific methods can be brought into the service of the noblest of causes: the preservation of motherhood and the human family.

### **The "business" of farming**

Speaking recently before the annual convention of the North Carolina Farm Bureau, Robert R. Wason expressed his conviction that farming is a business "just as truly as producing and selling shoes and automobiles." Wherefore, it should get back on an "independent, self-supporting basis." Toward this end Mr. Wason recommended that the law of supply and demand "be permitted to operate through free, competitive markets" in farming as well as in other segments of the national economy. Needless to say we do not want American agriculture to be inefficient or to subsist on subsidy. There is something to be said for the introduction of more market freedom in agricultural price policy. But with all due respect to the board chairman of the National Association of Manufacturers, we should like to raise some questions regarding this concept of farming as a business comparable with shoe or automobile manufacturing. First is, what do the farmers think about it? Certainly even the most commercial of the cotton growers are hardly prepared to accept one-price cotton in genuine competition with

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countries capable of producing a higher quality product at lower cost. And have the dairymen, the wheat farmers and the sugar producers such faith in unlimited competition that they are now ready to risk international trade agreements without the protection of "escape clauses"? We are not, of course, in full sympathy with these special-interest farm groups, but we should like to know whether Mr. Wason expresses their ideas or merely those of a narrow circle of NAM members who see no difference between tanning the hide of a dead cow and getting milk out of a live one. A more important question concerns the achievement of the objectives of agriculture other than production. Would this intensive commercialization of agriculture which Mr. Wason advocates be allowed to drive the farm family from the land or reduce it to the status of migrant workers? And what of limitations on land tenure, and of conserving our precious soil resources, and of allowing men access to the land? To date, NAM thinking on agriculture has hardly been adequate.

### **Soviets expect American collapse**

The Moscow Conference's failure is attributable in part to a strong Soviet conviction that the United States hangs on the brink of economic catastrophe. Such is the prevailing belief among economic experts at the Geneva Trade Conference. In that light, Stalin's description of the conference as "only the first skirmishes and brushes of reconnaissance forces" would make some sense. In refusing to come to any definite agreement with the United States, the Russians believe that a gigantic economic crisis will soon encompass us. As a result, America's economic predominance in the world will be drastically undermined, thus making the United States susceptible to any Russian proposals. Their "theory" the Soviets prove as follows: 1) the United States as the leading capitalist state is due for a depression, which, according to the Marxist dialectic, inevitably follows each major war. The economic aftermath of the first World War, they say, came in the 1930's in the form of the depression, with its disastrous consequences on the world economy. 2) The Truman Doctrine depends primarily on American ability to help the devastated countries economically rather than ideologically. 3) A collapse of American national income would remove any hope in Western European countries of getting over the hump in re-establishing reasonable standards of living. 4) Finally, any program of international economic cooperation, symbolized by the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the International Trade Organization, would be totally frustrated by an American depression. The Soviets observe the facts, together with reactions in other countries, and plan their actions accordingly. They believe that an American collapse would create an irreparable breach between the United States and the nations of Western Europe, especially Great Britain. In consequence, argue the Russians, the world will be completely helpless to resist the further spread of communism and of Soviet ideas. Then only will Russia be able to conclude peace with former belligerent states.

### **Japan on a new road**

The Japanese people, in the recent series of elections, have overwhelmingly repudiated the forces of communism. At the same time they divorced themselves from the extremes of the right. This "moderate course" was hailed by General MacArthur, commander of the SCAP, on April 27, 1947 in a statement on the occasion of the elections for both the Upper and Lower Houses. The communists suffered a decisive defeat in the Upper House, while the Lower House balloting gave them only four out of the chamber's 466 seats. In the recent local elections the parties of the right won a crushing majority. Yet the new parliamentary vote showed a definite trend toward the moderate left. A surprising gain of the Social Democratic Party made it actually the biggest single political group in Japan. Whether all the democratic, socialist and liberal parties will be able to form a coalition government, has yet to be seen. Though they possess an easy majority in the Diet, these parties are far from united, because of the serious split which exists between the right and left wings. None the less, the new democratic strength represents an important acquisition so far as Japan's future is concerned. While repudiating communism, Japanese democrats firmly indicated that they consider the extreme right no less detrimental to the welfare of the nation. This view is amply demonstrated in the new Japanese Constitution, which came into effect on May 3, 1947. Paragraph 9 states that "the Japanese people forever renounces war as a sovereign right of the nation." By this Japan undertakes to ban war, for a long time a traditional game of the militaristic right. True, Japanese democracy is still in the formative stage, and the enduring nature of present conviction cannot now be proved. But the signs are that the Japanese have stronger leanings toward genuine democracy than many outsiders believed heretofore. General MacArthur is firm in his conviction that the future of Japan depends in large measure upon its democratic development.

### **End of a "worthwhile experiment" in Chile**

Chile's present chief, President Gabriel Gonzales Videla, openly courted the Communists during the election campaign in the fall of 1946. His phrase that it would be a "worthwhile experiment" to have Communists in the cabinet, became a widely-known motto in the countries of Latin America. Fortunately the "marriage of convenience" with the Moscow-backed Communists was short-lived and the experiment rather conclusive. From last November to April 6, 1947 the communist participation brought only deplorable results. The three posts given to them in the Government did not satisfy the Communists. While in appearance they fought their liberal and radical colleagues in the cabinet, they were busy infiltrating in various government agencies. For instance, they managed to secure a number of important places in semi-fiscal organizations, such as retirement and pension funds, the agrarian economy fund and the railroad workers' fund. Such agencies as the *Comisión de Subsistencias* (a sort of WPB or OPA) and the *Confederación de Sindicatos de Beneficencia*, which includes

almost all of Chile's hospital workers, were in the hands of Communists. Their presence in the cabinet was a constant source of friction which hampered the primary aim of that body, namely, looking after the general welfare. Municipal elections held on April 6, 1947 brought victory to conservatives as well as Communists. This prompted the Liberals and subsequently the Communists to resign. President Videla did not wait too long in appointing six more members of his Radical Party to succeed the three Liberals and three Communists. The "worthwhile experiment" with the Communists has ended, yet the Chilean comrades still hold important federal, provincial and municipal jobs. Chile was the first Latin American republic to have such experience with the Communists. The inroads made by them in Chile, as well as the latest disorders and rioting in Cuba, have alerted other South American countries to the danger of trying to cooperate with the Kremlin's foreign agents.

### **Togliatti, divorce and decency**

The Christian business of loving Communists while we detest communism gets harder every day, Heaven forgive and sustain us! So many of the devout comrade-leaders present us with two faces, one as repulsive as the other, that we are left perpetually suspicious that the hidden heart is just as ugly and unlovable. Consider Signor Minister Togliatti's late signal service to his "beloved Italian people." Hardly a month ago he listened in the Constituent Assembly to Premier de Gasperi's noble reminder to a Catholic nation that "the divinity of Christ is the crucial question of our positivistic age." Togliatti responded for the Communists with an artful and impassioned protestation to the effect that "the working-class does not want the country divided for religious reasons." The speech swung the Assembly vote in favor of incorporating the Lateran Treaty with the Holy See into the new Italian Constitution. The Communists are thus listed in support of the Concordat's famous Article XXXIV, which begins as follows:

The Italian State, wishing to reinvest the institution of marriage, which is the basis of the family, with the dignity conformable to the Catholic traditions of its people, recognizes the sacrament of matrimony performed according to Canon Law as fully effective in Civil Law. . . .

Even the fascist government had respected this sacred avowal to the point that divorce was regarded in fact, if not by positive enactment, as "unconstitutional" in Italy. On April 24 Signor Togliatti put on his other Assembly face and had the word "indissoluble" struck out of the superb text drafted for Article XXIII of the proposed Constitution, which was to read: "The republic recognizes the rights of the family as a natural society founded on indissoluble marriage." This "amendment" leaves the door wide open for the precious boon of divorce legislation, contempt of the Concordat and flagrant "division of the country for religious reasons"—when, as and if a leftist majority is returned to Parliament in Italy. Signor Togliatti opened that door "democratically," at one-thirty in the morning, by a margin of three votes. To

win this time he used the device of a secret ballot (protecting the deputies, of course, from possible reprisals from an outraged people), in what has been called "one of his cleverest political manoeuvres." How is Christian charity to call it by any nicer name than sacrilege?

### **Guarantees for Holy Places**

While hardly a word has been said about the special interests of Christians in the destiny of Palestine, it is worth recording that at the present time the status of the Holy Places does not seem to be at issue. According to the terms of the Palestine mandate the British have "responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites and the free exercise of worship. . . ." Neither the Arabs nor the Zionists have given any hint that this aspect of the mandate will be neglected or opposed in any future Palestine framed according to their respective aspirations. It is quite possible, though, that any change in the present mandate in favor of either group might precipitate a crisis for the Christians, if this special phase of the Palestine issue is not kept before the eyes of the delegates at the United Nations. To date no responsible Catholic spokesman has ventured to remind the United Nations that Palestine continues to remain what it has been for two thousand years, a land made sacred by the mysteries of Our Saviour's life and death. No doubt the delegates are just as happy that Christian spokesmen have not appeared at Flushing Meadow Park to add a new ingredient to already difficult deliberations. With five Arab countries vigorously pressing for a termination of the mandate and the creation of an independent (i.e. Arab) Palestine, and four Zionist organizations fighting among themselves and with the Assembly for the right to be heard, it is all too easy for the Christian interests to be overlooked. What is no issue now may become a real issue later, if guarantees for the Holy Places are not emphasized today.

### **Terror reigns in Rumania**

The communist-controlled Government of Peter Groza has launched a terror campaign to tighten the totalitarian grip over hunger-stricken Rumania. Reports considered highly reliable state that members of opposition parties are being arrested and kept in closest seclusion all over Rumania. Although no details as to the total number of those arrested are available, reports indicate that it is large. In 1945 the National Liberal and the National Peasant Parties were nominally included in the present Rumanian Government as an opposition. Actually the weight of their authority was non-existent. Last November the cabinet members representing these parties resigned in protest against elections held unfair—conditions so unfair that both the United States and Great Britain deemed it necessary to send vigorous notes objecting to the electoral procedure. Communist policies and steady impoverishment of the country caused by the prolonged Soviet occupation have brought the population to the

brink of desperation. Apparently to forestall any possible coup d'état, the Communists decided to get rid of actual and potential enemies, even if the latter had committed no political crime. Ever since the arrival, simultaneously with the Soviet troops, of Anna Pauker, well-known Comintern leader, Rumania's internal and foreign policies have been closely connected with those of Moscow. Only a few days ago the Kremlin radio predicted the forthcoming "period of verification of true loyalty to democratic ideas." This turned out to mean the purge of non-communist elements. A British Foreign Office spokesman revealed recently that the Bucharest Communists are hastily recruiting a "citizens' army" from persons formerly members of the fascist Iron Guard. This army will be in charge of communist policies, if and when Soviet troops decide to leave Rumania. Present communist tactics in Rumania closely resemble those used in Poland against Stanislaw Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party, and in Hungary against the Smallholders Party. Russia, backed by her own troops as well as by subservient communist quislings in occupied countries, will tolerate no opposition to her domination, even when the opposition enjoys popular support.

### **Discriminatory Federal aid to schools**

At a Congressional subcommittee hearing on providing Federal aid to education, Rev. William E. McManus of NCWC recently recommended at least token recognition of what non-public schools are doing for the nation. Such recognition would be "a safeguard for freedom of education in our democracy." The Taft bill, which is widely favored but lacks the support of Catholics because they regard it as discriminatory, would provide \$250 million of Federal aid. Through a political subterfuge, the bill as at present written leaves up to the States whether any of its bounties would go to non-public schools. Thus it avoids the issue brought up by the fact that a number of States are legally prevented from disbursing funds to any but public schools and are not minded to change their laws. Behind their attitude, of course, is the viewpoint that non-public schools are somehow undemocratic and those who patronize them are only second-class citizens. The School Lunch Program—now languishing under the temporary Congressional mood of economy even where it is unrealistic—avoided this pitfall and was the first measure to achieve the distinction of requiring equity in State dealings with private schools as a condition for participation in Federal funds. Father McManus now recommends that a Federal-aid bill for education be drafted on similar lines, even though the assistance granted to non-public schools would be only a gesture. He admitted that an outstanding need of the American school system is improved salaries for teachers, and that Federal funds would help toward this end in many places, especially in backward States. But the fact that the need for higher salaries has not the same degree of urgency in Catholic schools is no justification for putting on our Federal statute books legislation which implies discrimination against pupils attending non-public schools.

## Washington Front

When the Actors Equity Association recently warned the National Theater in Washington that none of its members would play there after a year from next June unless it raised its ban on Negroes in the audience, it focussed national attention on a situation that has become a symbol of a public disgrace. Playwrights like Eugene O'Neill and Marc Connelly, performers like Tallulah Bankhead, Ingrid Bergman, Cornelia Otis Skinner, had already announced a ban on the National, and the Theater Guild had made a similar threat.

The theater management alleged as its excuse that such a ban is a "local custom," in spite of the fact that up to very recent years Negroes were freely allowed to attend this theater, and of course they still appear on its stage. Similar excuses are made by Uline's Arena, which allows Negroes to attend professional boxing matches, but not basket-ball games, hockey, or ice shows. Perhaps the worst offender is the local branch of the Amateur Athletic Union, which allows no Negro to take part in an open amateur boxing match or track meet, though the regional director has protested in vain, and two newspapers which had formerly sponsored the Golden Gloves now refuse to do so; and so this year and last Washington was not represented in that national event.

In a recent interracial broadcast from Georgetown University, a prominent Washington Negro, Mr. E. B. Henderson, pointed out that Negro children now constitute all but fifty per cent of the District's elementary-school population, and somewhat over forty-four per cent of the high-school students. White families are swiftly moving out to the new housing developments in Maryland and Virginia, sometimes displacing Negroes there, and the Negroes are moving into run-down houses in the District. Their children go to run-down school houses, and there is an enormous disproportion of playground space as between white and colored children, with the advantage to the former, of course. One very crowded area, not very far from the Capitol itself, is more congested than Harlem; the dwellings are shacks in Washington's notorious alleys; and the incidence of disease delinquency and illiteracy is terrifyingly high.

One sometimes hears it said that Washington is a "Southern city" and that the discriminations here must therefore be taken for granted. Apart from the false assumption that a Southern city "must" be guilty of injustice, the Nation's Capital is neither Southern, Northern, Western nor Eastern. It is the Nation's capital city, and the conditions blindly tolerated there by the Congress, which governs Washington, are a matter of national concern. Perhaps they will not be corrected until the people of the country at large tell the legislators that they will no longer tolerate this national disgrace.

WILFRID PARSONS

## Underscorings

Some time ago this column summarized some of the interesting findings in a research study, *Catholics and the Practice of the Faith*, which Father George A. Kelly of the Archdiocese of New York based on a census of the diocese of St. Augustine in Florida. The companion piece to Father Kelly's study, founded on the same census, is *Catholic Fertility in Florida*, by Father Thomas Francis Coogan of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles (Catholic University Press).

► Father Coogan's research extended to five areas: 1) The Relation of Fertility to Religion; 2) Fertility in Relation to Social and Economic Levels; 3) Fertility and Education; 4) Fertility in Relation to Place of Birth and Residence; 5) Fertility and the Family Size of the Wives' Parents. A few of the conclusions arrived at in regard to the first and third areas may serve to call attention to this excellent study in Social Science.

► From a census tabulation of 40,473 Catholics, a total of 11,508 unbroken marriages were analyzed. Of these, 5,642 were Catholic marriages, 4,680 mixed marriages (husband Catholic in 1,479; wife Catholic in 3,201) and 1,186 convert marriages (in which husband or wife became a Catholic shortly before or after the marriage).

Nine per cent of the mixed marriages resulted in the conversion of the non-Catholic partner.

► In these 11,508 marriages, the rate of fertility was found to be highest for Catholic marriages in which either husband or wife was a convert, being 4 per cent higher than that of Catholic marriages. Mixed marriages showed a fertility rate 14 per cent lower than that of Catholic marriages. Both Catholic and convert marriages are producing a growing population (represented by three or more children). Catholic wives have 10 per cent more children than the number required for meeting the stationary population level, whereas mixed marriages fall far short of maintaining the stationary population.

► Father Coogan's research found that the proportion of childless families has decreased, that the proportion of two-and three-child families has increased. The real decrease is in families of five or more children.

► Fertility shows this relation to education: for all marriages, wives who received a complete Catholic education are 15 per cent more fertile than wives who have received no Catholic education. Graduates of Catholic high schools are 16 per cent more fertile than the corresponding public school graduates.

► In conclusion, Father Coogan makes a pastoral recommendation. "It seems incumbent upon churchmen, not only to encourage research on family problems bearing on fertility, but to become more insistent than ever in applying Catholic teaching to family life." A. P. F.

# Editorials

## "Ruthless imperialism"

After his return to the United States, Henry A. Wallace did not appear to be wholly comfortable about some of the things he said in Europe. In his first press conference he is reported as repudiating reports that he had accused the Truman administration of "ruthless imperialism." He had used the phrase, he explained, only as a description of the program outlined by James Burnham in *Life* magazine, published by Henry Luce; and had only remarked that the Truman policy might be the "first step" toward such imperialism.

Regardless of any such qualifications, however, we can count on the use of this telling pair of words in coming campaigns. It is all the more effective because it contains some truth, as a little examination may show.

The United States is by no means free from possible contagion with the notion of imperialism, ruthless or otherwise. We were not wholly immune to the idea in decades when our position among the nations of the world, political, social, economic, was not a tenth as powerful as it is today. The power of a great nation, like the power of an individual, comes easily to be loved for its own sake, or for the gross material advantages which it procures. Moreover, modern totalitarianism and methods of propaganda set an attractive stage for anyone who wishes to idealize the glorification of power. Once the outlines of America's masterful position in the international world become clearer, we and our political leaders are apt to forget the tremendous responsibilities to the rest of the world which they entail. And this forgetfulness is promoted by the vexing obstacles that arise at every stage when we try to exercise those great international responsibilities.

But the magnitude and the subtlety of such an imperialist temptation makes all the more blameworthy any attempt to confuse the issues. Unless Mr. Wallace is living in an ivory tower, he knows like all the rest of us that Soviet propaganda imputes "ruthless imperialism" to President Truman in this instance, because in every instance it pastes with that label any person and any government which dares to differ with Russia's own imperialistic policies. Such an imputation is simply part of the general Soviet tactics of smoke-screening their own policies by charging the rest of the world with doing the same. The latest example is afforded by the Soviet accusations of "slave labor" against Belgium's and Great Britain's use of war prisoners. Mr. Wallace may entertain the fear of our country's lapsing into some sort of imperialism, and none can object to a caution in this regard. But to use this as a criticism of the President's policy with regard to Greece and Turkey is merely to play the totally insincere Soviet game.

In his report to the nation on the recent Moscow Conference, John Foster Dulles showed frankly where the true case is as to "ruthless imperialism":

Still another asset we bring back is a better understanding of how Soviet foreign policy works. It depends little on getting results by diplomatic negotiation. It depends much on getting results by penetrating into the political parties and labor organizations of other countries. I have already mentioned that Soviet leaders have such confidence in these methods that they are willing to let Germany again become a great industrial power. They are using these methods now to get the kind of Germany they want.

Let the record be clear on this matter of "ruthless imperialism." This is not the present issue in our American foreign policy; it is very much the basis of the policies of those governments who are loudest in making such an accusation.

## Mother's day—and more

It's good to recall, each Mother's Day, that the annual remembrance is indeed more than a tribute to one's own mother or, in general, to other women who have actually borne children. It is rather a day of homage to all women, for the fundamental characteristic of all women and their peculiar glory is their relationship to motherhood.

In these days when there is so much confused and bewildering debate about the proper role of woman in society, this larger view of Mother's Day as a reminder of the equation between womanhood and maternity is sorely needed. In our times, no more splendid expression of this fact has been given than in the words of the Pope when he addressed Italian women on October 21, 1945. Here are his words on woman and motherhood:

The sphere of woman, her manner of life, her native bent, is motherhood. Every woman is made to be a mother: a mother in the physical meaning of the word or in the more spiritual and exalted but no less real sense. . . . Thus it is that a woman who is a real woman can see all the problems of human life only in the perspective of the family.

This is true, the Pope reminds us, even for the young woman who, "remaining perforce" unmarried, recognizes her vocation in the exclusion of matrimony. These are particularly the women who have the opportunity to carry into social and political life their qualities of motherhood:

The sensitiveness and fine feeling proper to woman . . . are . . . of immense help when it is a question of throwing light on the needs, aspirations and dangers that touch domestic, public welfare and religious spheres. . . . Only a woman will know, for instance, how to temper with kindness, without detriment to its efficacy, legislation to repress licentious-

ness. She alone can find the means to save from degradation and to raise in honesty and in religious and civil virtues the morally derelict young. . . . She alone will re-echo from her own heart the plea of mothers from whom the totalitarian state, by whatever name it be called, would will to snatch the education of their children.

Motherhood, then, actual or as an motivating ideal, is the true glory of woman. Mother's Day is but an explicit sharpening of what must be an habitual focus—that of reverence for motherhood by men and of a deepening of their maternal qualities by women. Only when motherhood is so exercised and esteemed can Mother's Day have its true meaning.

## ***Moscow no dead-end***

Mr. Marshall's report upon his return from many fruitless weeks in Moscow was in the best tradition of those prompt and candid reports to the people that we have come to expect. If our foreign policy today is on surer ground than at any other time in our history, this may be attributable in large measure to the confidence this procedure has engendered in the minds of the general public. Since the war's end our political leaders have learned that it pays handsome dividends to be frank with the people. Although this conviction has not penetrated to every area of Washington's activities, it is a matter of gratification in the midst of the rumors and alarms of this postwar chaos that the United States is growing more and more sure of itself in world affairs. The failures at Moscow, particularly the non-emergence of a treaty for Austria, were serious indeed. But our experiences may actually have provided us with the foundation for more effective policy in Europe.

In his matter-of-fact and soldierly radio address of April 28, Secretary of State George C. Marshall singled out a few key issues that had obstructed all progress towards the peace treaties with Germany and Austria. The first was the future German government; another was economic unity; another, boundaries; another, reparations.

No agreement was reached on these questions. Secretary Marshall made no apology for this fact. For their part the American people are not in the least disposed to chide him for failure. We have passed the stage of demanding agreement for agreement's sake. The Secretary and his advisers, among whom was Republican John Foster Dulles, judged correctly that the people at home would understand clearly that it was better to have no agreement at all than to enter once again upon a humiliating bargain in which the Soviet Union would be virtually sure to welsh on its part of the deal.

If any general pattern stands out in U.S.-Soviet relationships as a result of the experiences at Moscow it is the singular unreliability of merely verbal agreements with the Kremlin. Agreements mean nothing if they do not mean the same thing to both parties. The final delimitation of the German-Polish boundary was, in our understanding, to be left to the final peace conference, according to the clear terms of the Potsdam agreement.

Mr. Molotov, however, chose to say that it was settled once for all at Potsdam. The Russians had agreed to the economic unification of Germany. Yet, as the Secretary pointed out, the Soviet-occupied zone has operated practically without regard to the other zones and there has been little or no disposition to proceed on a basis of reciprocity. The Soviet Union insisted upon reparations from current production, although the Potsdam agreement, superseding earlier agreements at Yalta, made no such provisions. On the basis of his experiences, the Secretary said flatly: "Charges were made by the Soviet delegation and interpretations given the Potsdam and other agreements which varied completely from the facts as understood or as factually known by the American delegation." Under such circumstances our representative rightly felt compelled to seek assurances more reliable than those contained in a verbal, or as he called it "declared" agreement with the Soviet Union. In this his opinion was shared by Mr. Bevin and M. Bidault, who as a result have been drawn closer to each other and to the United States than at any other time since the end of the war.

The failure at Moscow was far from a "dead-end" failure. On the contrary it opened up new and distinct areas of action and policy for the United States. Germany and the Europe that depends on Germany can take the cue from the welcome hint of the Secretary of State: "Action cannot await compromise through exhaustion."

## ***The Western Church looks eastward***

Through the pages of Christendom's history runs the sad story of conflict between East and West. Constantinople's rivalry with Rome goes so far back that one must study the Roman Empire in the centuries immediately following Constantine to trace its origins.

Yet it was only in the memorable year 1054 that the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Caerulearius, made the permanent break which was to divide the allegiances of East and West in matters spiritual and thus pave the way for ideological differences. With the notable exception of the Maronites and the Byzantine Greeks of Italy, the other Churches of the eastern rite followed Constantinople into schism. Though the grounds for division were relatively insignificant, the cleavage was beyond healing.

The reunion of the fifteenth century was shortlived. Apart from bringing a portion of the dissident rites into permanent unity, it lacked results. In 1472 Constantinople repudiated the document of union signed only twenty years before in Saint Sophia by Cardinal Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev. More enduring and more heartening was the union effected in 1596 when millions of Ukrainians followed six bishops, headed by Metropolitan Rohoza, on the road to Rome. Fortunately for the Church in Eastern Europe, the Union of Brest-Litovsk endured. Ukrainian Catholics have proved their loyalty many times over in the face of intolerance not only of Orthodox

leaders but even, at times, of fellow Catholics of Latin rite. The same is true of many other Catholics of the Eastern rites. Their continued allegiance to the Pope demonstrates the possibility of East and West once more finding spiritual unity in communion with Peter's successor.

Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, addressing the gathering assembled to see him receive an honorary degree from Fordham University on April 27, called attention to the urgent need for spiritual unity. "The major problem of today is the understanding between East and West," he said. As Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church, the Cardinal knows how numerous are the misunderstandings and dangers, only a few of which have come to the surface during the political negotiations between Moscow and the West.

In Eastern Europe Catholics, joined in some cases by their dissident brethren, are persecuted for refusal to accept the spiritual hegemony of the Moscow patriarchate. Said the Cardinal:

Already millions of them are suffering in new catacombs. In other regions there are rumblings of dangers for these children of the Apostles, for these people whose Catholicity reaches far back into the glorious annals of our Church's history.

Christians cannot but be saddened by the sight of disunity among followers of Christ's teaching, especially among those who share His sacraments and the power of orders. Spiritually the answer is clear and the issue sharp. Rome stands ready to welcome back her dissident children. Psychologically the way must be paved by development of understanding between those of different rites and by renewed efforts at peaceful relations between those who recognize the Rock of unity and those who do not.

Cardinal Tisserant, in his visit to this country where so many Catholics of different rite have dwelt together in harmony, reminds us of the unity that should be, even as he points out indirectly the great spiritual danger we face today—a world-wide attempt at religious unity apart from Peter.

## Socialists and Christian Democrats

In the anxious days preceding the liberation of Europe, the question often arose whether Socialists and the new Christian Democratic parties, which had proved their devotion to democracy and social justice in the ranks of the Resistance, would be able to collaborate to build a democratic postwar world. It was everywhere recognized that nineteenth-century capitalism was finished, that the new governments would be leftist in tendency. But would the postwar political and economic pattern be totalitarian as well as leftist? Would the Communists, in other words, dominate the situation either alone or in alliance with the Socialists?

To a number of people both here and abroad it appeared that if Europe was to be saved for democracy, the Christian Democrats and the Socialists would have to

work together. In Catholic circles those parts of *Quadragesimo Anno* in which Pope Pius XI analyzed the evolution of socialism during the period 1891-1931 were carefully reread and studied. From an economic standpoint, there seemed to be no insuperable obstacle to collaboration. In many respects the postwar programs of the Socialists and Christian Democrats were remarkably similar. But was it still true, as Pope Pius XI had said, that "mitigated socialism" retained "the anti-Christian basis which has always been characteristic of socialism?" That it remains a system that "conceives human society in a way utterly alien from Christian truth?" That despite its retreat from Marxist concepts of property, class warfare and the use of force, socialism remains socialism and, therefore, "cannot be brought into harmony with the dogmas of the Catholic Church?"

And if Catholics could overcome their difficulties, could Socialists bring themselves to cooperate with Christian parties, even if the parties professed democratic principles and espoused a program of social reform? Could Socialists bury their old suspicions of the Church as a bulwark of reaction, their professional anti-clericalism, their rationalistic opposition to dogmas and supernaturalism and still remain true to their historic ideals and beliefs?

Until a month or so ago, these questions had either been answered in the negative by both sides or had been deliberately side-stepped. But now Belgium, after an unfortunate experience with a leftist government in which the Christian Democrats refused to participate, is attempting the solution which professed democrats discussed on both sides of the Atlantic in the uncertain days of 1944. Under the premiership of Paul-Henri Spaak, leader of the Socialists, Belgium is today governed by a coalition of the Socialist Party and the Christian Social Party (PSC). That is to say, it is governed by the democratic left, from which the Communists have been excluded precisely because they are not democrats.

It is, of course, much too early to say whether this alliance will prove successful. Already the Prime Minister has had to defend his course against attacks from Marxist comrades of other days. "I am a Socialist," he told the Belgian Parliament, "but nothing hurts me in the PSC, for I am convinced that the salvation of Europe lies in the association of socialism and Christian civilization."

To the Belgian Senate he was even more specific:

I will make plainer what I said on the affinities between the Socialists and the Christian mind. In my opinion the gravest problem of the day is the salvation of the human person. Saint Augustine spoke on the eminence and the dignity of the human person. Without denying my past, I declare to the PSC that if they follow Saint Augustine's saying, my heart is in unison with them.

We trust that M. Spaak's words will penetrate the hearts of his socialist friends in other lands—in Italy, in France, in Germany. Sooner or later they must make a choice between preserving their stale, anti-religious prejudices or saving freedom and human dignity. They cannot have them both.

# Better homes for all Americans

R. W. Eakins

Mr. Eakin speaks from long experience of the building industry. In this article he plainly sets forth the pertinent facts in our present housing problem: the desperate need of low-cost housing, the necessity for government assistance, the hope offered by the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

Only a few months ago, the real-estate industry won its greatest fight. Before industry pressure, the United States Government sacrificed its program to house homeless veterans. The builders had sold the nation this new housing program:

1. *To speed housing construction:* Withdraw housing priorities for scarce building materials, thus making hardwood flooring and cast-iron soil pipe available to bowling alleys and juke joints.

2. *To reduce the cost of construction:* Remove ceilings on all building materials and wage rates, thus forcing up materials prices as much as 200 per cent on some items—25 per cent on the average—and the cost of labor 13 per cent.

3. *To enable veterans to buy a home:* Remove the \$10,000 price limitation, making the sky the limit.

4. *To keep rentals within the means of veterans:* Make the former \$80 rental ceiling an average rental for apartments in any project—enabling landlords to demand \$120 a month for a two-room apartment, providing this is offset by a one-room apartment at \$40. New York and Chicago ceilings are set at \$160, plus service charges.

5. *To encourage home building:* Raise the weekly limit of \$35,000,000 worth of competing non-residential construction to \$50,000,000.

The Government did insist, however, that veterans be given first choice on all homes built for sale or for rent, that builders apply for construction permits and that homes be not larger than 1,500 square feet, excluding basements, unfinished attics, garages, etc.

Even the President endorsed this reasoning. Announcing the new program, he said: "I am determined that a vigorous housing program will continue to be carried out in 1947. The techniques we will use are those that will work today."

This marked the end of a long and hard fight by real-estate and building interests. This was their day of triumph over "government interference," over "hampering controls," over "Washington red tape and hamstringing." For many months the industry had beaten its war drums, promising to house all the homeless people if only government shackles were removed. They pleaded that only in this way could they supply housing in quantity and at prices that would satisfy the nation's tragic need for homes.

The Veterans Emergency Housing Program died in November. Industry then placed its foot firmly on the carcass of its kill and, as the dawn of a new day rose over the economic jungles of free enterprise, emitted its full-throated victory cry.

Thomas S. Holden, president of the F. W. Dodge Corporation, the building industry's fact-finding organization, predicted a 25 per cent increase in all construction

in the thirty-seven states east of the Rockies during 1947. He welcomed the new Federal policies, "since it is clear that the doctrinaire theories of the past are to be subordinated to realistic building procedures."

Building-leaders shared this optimism. Joseph Meyerhoff, president of the National Association of Home Builders, predicted in December that "the announced changes should unquestionably speed up construction of homes for veterans and others." Watson Malone, president of the Middle Atlantic Lumbermen's Association, told his organization that private builders were ready to construct one million homes in 1947 at an average price of from \$6,000 to \$7,000.

N. P. Mason, president of the National Retail Lumber Dealers' Association, said at the same time that "the responsibility is no longer that of a paternal Government—it is ours"; and, he added with candor, the building industry dare not risk "another year of failure." T. S. Rogers, spokesman for the Producers Council, issued the rosy prediction that "the construction industry plans to build a million or more new dwelling units during 1947, at costs which are expected to average 15 to 20 per cent below 1946 peaks." W. S. Bellows, president of the Associated General Contractors, predicted that with freedom from government controls one million houses would be built during 1947; and Paul H. Griffith, national commander who had made his American Legion Housing Committee a legislative drummer boy for the real-estate lobby, predicted the end of the housing crisis for veterans in 1947. "The job is big," he said, "but the shackles are gone."

One thing that everyone seems to have lost sight of is that during 1946—a post-war year of materials shortages, a year of paralyzing labor disputes, a year of unprecedented confusion and reconversion—more than one million homes were put under construction. The National Housing Agency sets this total at 1,003,000 homes—670,300 of them new permanent homes, 64,500 converted homes, 48,000 re-use trailers, 191,000 temporary re-use units, and 29,200 units in schools and other public buildings. Had the program to develop prefabrication not petered out, Housing Expediter Wilson Wyatt's ambitious goal of 1,200,000 starts would have been fully realized.

Wyatt planned 1,500,000 starts for 1947. With many materials being produced in record volume, with comparative order having been established in the building field, the goal was not at all as ambitious as the one set for chaotic 1946. And yet, unshackled builders boasted that they expect to build only one million homes, including, presumably, the 487,000 which were started but not completed during 1946. (Wyatt saw 661,900 completed during 1946, although only 147,000 starts were carried over from 1945.)

The Government accepted industry's estimates. It also accepted industry's "filtration" philosophy—that is, that while rents and sales prices would be well above veterans' ability to pay, veterans could succeed to the homes vacated by families buying and renting the new accommodations. No one bothered to point out that most of the potential customers for these new homes had been doubled up with friends and relatives and that it was unlikely that strangers—even though they were veterans—would be allowed to move into their vacated quarters.

Now the realtors' tom-toms have died down; and an uneasy note of embarrassment has crept into the ponderous propaganda of the industry. A great deal of qualification has softened the brave boasts of builders and realtors. Talk of a million-home year is being prefaced with "if's."

H. U. Nelson, executive vice-president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, usually establishes the industry line. "*If the Government lets us build,*" he said, "the housing shortage will be over by the end of 1947 and prices will soften simultaneously." Frank W. Cottwright, executive vice-president of the National Association of Home Builders, complained in his February *Washington Letter*:

Veterans are no longer standing in line to purchase new homes being built exclusively for them. In nearly every part of the country during the last three months, it has required special sales effort to locate veteran purchasers. In a few places sales to veterans have practically stopped. Although the constantly rising cost of construction is one factor, another reason for this condition is that the veteran is being advised not to purchase at this time. This advice has come from some agencies of government and from conservative banking institutions.

Even more indicative of the fact that buyers had struck against expensive new and old construction is the volume of real estate advertising in the daily and Sunday newspapers. Page upon page of display and classified ads—some of them carrying a suggestion of the pre-war "bargain" appeal—spell out the information that the seller's day is over. National Housing Expediter Frank R. Creedon's observation that prices on new homes and building materials had "begun to level off" was a dry understatement.

What has happened? Is the housing shortage really on the wane? Is it true that in a few short months of de-control industry has taken over and now has the housing situation well in hand? Is the nation really returning to a condition of housing "normalcy?"

Many influences have wrought this new buyer's market—not least among them the human factor. The panic which seized returning homeless veterans a year ago has subsided somewhat. As they had learned to tolerate foxholes and the discipline and discomforts of service, so now the veterans and their wives and children are learning to bear the dampness of basements, the cold of attics and garages, the sickness and the misery of shanties never meant for human shelter. In-laws either have found out how to get along together or live in the same house without speaking. All of them have grimly determined not to

mortgage their lives—not to liquidate their despair in debts that never could be paid for shelter they cannot afford.

Probably it was this factor which encouraged the real-estate people to begin to assert that there was no real housing shortage. In their pamphlets and canned editorials, in their press releases and broadcasts, real-estate propagandists have contended this year that the only thing wrong with housing was rent-control. Take controls off rentals, they said, and watch people move out of spacious apartments. As a patriotic afterthought, the industry said this movement would make room for veterans. Even the American Legion seven-man housing committee demanded that veterans be helped by raising their rents.

Morgan L. Fitch, president of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, key-noted the drive to convince homeless America that the housing shortage wasn't so severe after all. He told the Charleston, S. C., Real Estate Exchange that, according to the semi-annual survey by NAREB, "the urban housing shortage can be solved by building about 1,500,000 units." At the same time, government surveys indicated that more than three million families were living doubled up or in thoroughly inadequate quarters. Exhaustive studies by the National Housing Agency and congressional committees had shown the need of at least 12,600,000 new urban homes during the next ten years—6,100,000 to replace substandard dwellings and 6,500,000 for newly-formed families and families now doubled up. It was obvious that the real-estate interests did not choose to concern themselves with the 3,500,000 non-farm homes that lack private baths and private flush toilets, the 3,114,074 units that lack even running water, and the 3,935,381 units that need major repairs and modern plumbing—38.3 per cent of the nation's non-farm housing. Regardless of their disrepair, these hovels are being rented for high prices. With decent homes, reasonably priced, on the market they would be a liability to their owners.

Why are the real-estate men so jittery? Why the big campaign to sell the nation the story that the housing shortage is pretty much a matter of imagination—and rent control?

The reason is that the country is getting tired of its dilapidated housing. It is finding out at long last that the real-estate and building industries have been giving it an inferior product to the disadvantage of renters and buyers alike. And the country is determined to do something about it.

That something is the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, S. 1592 at the last session of Congress. Passed by voice vote in the Senate but held up by lobby-ruled members of the House Banking and Currency Committee, the bill was throttled last year. But an aroused citizenry are demanding that it be passed this year.

The legislation, known now as S. 866, the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, has been reintroduced in the present session with no important changes. Its 13 titles are summarized as follows:

*Title I* states as the goal of the legislation: "A decent

home and suitable living environment for every American family, and to enable the housing industry to make its full contribution toward an economy of maximum employment, production and purchasing power."

*Title II* establishes a National Housing Commission composed of an Administrator and a Coordinating Council of Federal agencies' representatives.

*Title III* would make independent agencies of the Federal Home Loan Bank Administration, Federal Housing Administration and Federal Public Housing Authority and consolidate the sprawling pattern of various housing acts.

*Title IV* provides for Federal technical research and help for local housing "to assist in increasing the production of better housing and progressively reducing housing costs, and in making available data on national housing needs, demand and supply."

*Title V* enables Home Loan Banks and Federally-chartered savings and loan associations to lend money for homes, either FHA-insured or bought under the GI Bill of Rights; increases government insurance for home modernization, home ownership and rental housing; protects owners against foreclosure because of unemployment or other unavoidable misfortune; authorizes FHA to insure homes built during periods of high cost construction.

*Title VI* empowers FHA to insure home loans up to 95 per cent for middle-income families, so that only a 5 per cent down payment is required; it would extend monthly repayments over 30 years and reduce interest to 4 per cent, thus making payments small; it would insure builders up to 35 per cent of the value of the houses they construct; and it would attract financing for rental housing with 90 per cent insurance on loans for 40 years at 4 per cent or less interest.

*Title VII* guarantees insurance companies and other large investors an overall return of 3½ to 4 per cent a year on outstanding investments in moderate-range rental projects.

*Title VIII* affords \$500 million in Federal loan funds to help communities acquire slum and blighted areas and prepare them for redevelopment by private enterprise.

*Title IX* subsidizes up to 500,000 public housing units for impoverished families who otherwise could afford only slums.

*Title X* provides 33-year home loans at 4 per cent or less interest for farm families of adequate income, with subsidy assistance where needed for a period of 10 years or less; and special loans and grants for impoverished families for housing improvements to meet minimum health standards.

*Title XI* enables FPHA to help provide decent public housing for rural non-farm families at an expenditure of not more than \$5,000,000 a year for five years.

*Title XII* requires local public agencies buying war housing to give preference as low-rent tenants to servicemen, veterans and their families.

*Title XIII* is a technical provision giving the act precedence over inconsistent provisions of any other law.

Last year industry was content to condemn the bill

by calling it "a step toward socialism," or inflationary because of "over-generous credit," or by claiming that it would "install the Federal Government in every city hall in the land."

This year, in keeping with the trend toward loose labeling of everything in the public interest as "communist," industry's professional spokesmen are using stronger language.

Herbert U. Nelson, NAREB vice-president, testified before the Senate Banking Committee that the bill was "dangerous, misleading and fails to accomplish the purpose for which it was presented."

Morgan L. Fitch, president, told the same body that the public-housing features of the bill and rent control were "the spearhead of the communist front." "By the two," he explained, "we work to the ultimate goal of the all-powerful state, with man a subject rather than a master."

Earl Teckmeyer, an industry witness from Indianapolis, said: "The real-estate people feel that the Government is going into business right across the street from them," and he opined that "it is unfair to tax one group of people to provide housing for another." He was referring to the bill's provisions for public housing, primarily for veterans. Senator Charles W. Tobey of New Hampshire, committee chairman, was moved to comment that the principle of the strong helping the weak was "pretty well accepted."



Who comprise the "communist front" spearheading the bill? Surely not the sponsors: Republican Senator Robert A. Taft and Democratic Senators Robert F. Wagner and Allen J. Ellender. Surely not the Senate as a whole, which passed the bill by voice vote last year. Could it be the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council? The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America? The United States Conference of Mayors? All these organizations and scores of others are fighting for passage of the bill. All labor organizations support it. So do many churches, consumer organizations and all major veterans' organizations, except only the American Legion; and recently a grass-roots movement within the Legion has placed on the record of support such powerful units as the New York County and Kings County (Brooklyn) committees.

At this writing it is evident that the 1947 housing program will be ineffective. Industry has defaulted on its promise of one million homes this year. And there is considerable doubt as to whether the glib propagandists ever made the promise in good faith in the first place. Seward H. Mott, director of the Urban Land Institute, confessed recently at a home-builder forum in Rochester, N. Y., that moderate cost housing (\$35 to \$40 a month) cannot be built under prevailing prices. "It can't be done without Federal or State aid," he told the home builders. "And that means control by these agencies. You don't want that, I know." He asserted that industry can maintain a rate of 500,000 to 600,000 units under con-

struction annually. "Any figure above 600,000 units annually would jeopardize the industry," he added.

This, then, is the crux of the consumer-industry battle.

The Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill calls for the construction of 1,500,000 homes a year—15,000,000 during the next ten years. Industry's aim is to keep the number down to less than one-half that figure to perpetuate shortage. Determined upon an economy of scarcity and high prices, industry already has discouraged further building. Through decontrol, thousands upon thousands of new homes now are standing completed and empty and unwanted at the fabulous figures demanded. Even the ridiculous rentals—as high as \$160 a month, plus service charges, which now are permitted in New York and Chicago—will not induce industry to build.

The lines are drawn. Lobbyists infest the halls of Congress. Embittered veterans and consumers are demanding homes. The fight for "a decent home for every American family" has begun.

## "Send these, the homeless"

**Harold C. Gardiner**

The open-hearted and compassionate verse that decorates the base of the Statue of Liberty is presumably representative of general American sentiment on the privilege (or is it a right?) of the oppressed of other lands to find a haven within these shores. Of late, however, men in high places, who are also representatives of the people and therefore of their sentiments, have for all practical purposes re-written the noble verse. We don't want your thousands, they say in effect, for America must be kept for Americans, the American workman must be protected, there are not enough houses to turn over to a horde of immigrants. We have the utmost sympathy for thousands upon thousands, they protest, who have no countries, no homes; we pray them a speedy settlement and a chance to be human beings again—but let the Argentine, New Zealand, Bolivia, Timbuctoo open their gates; America must be very, very careful.

This is perhaps in rather cruel summary the ground on which such leaders as Kenneth S. Wherry of Nebraska and Chapman Revercomb of West Virginia, both Republican Senators, recently succeeded in having written into the U. S. adherence to the International Refugee Organization (IRO) a proviso that there was to be no change entailed in the recent (since the 1920's) U. S. quota system in admitting immigrants. The Senators, apparently, do not stand alone. It may well be conceived that their stand is prudently estimated as finding large support among their constituencies; there are undoubtedly other large groups and interests in the country which applaud the "American" stand of the two Senators.

On the other side of the embattled field are such prominent figures as Earl G. Harrison, former Commissioner

of Immigration and Naturalization, who has come out in open support of the bill (HR 2910) introduced in the House by William G. Stratton, Republican, of Illinois, which would admit to the United States over a four-year period 400,000 displaced persons now in UNRRA camps in Germany, Austria and Italy. Proposals such as Representative Stratton's have been backed by all the major church groups in the United States, by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, by various groups working for refugees, including the important Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, the NCWC War Relief Service, and many others.

There is a clear cleavage between the two camps on fundamental issues. The most basic issue is, thank God, admitted by all—namely the right of the more than a millions DP's in Europe alone to find haven somewhere, for this million-plus is admitted by now to be the "hard core" of unrepatriables, who simply cannot return to the countries of their origin for fear of persecution, religious or political. On a second fundamental issue there is theoretical unanimity, namely that the United States ought to do its share and even take the lead in opening its gates to refugees—even Senatorial leaders would pay lip-service to this ideal.

But when it comes to actual steps, the cleavage is high, wide and ugly. Why, say the obstructionists, inundate the United States with a vast tidal wave of foreigners who will a) for long years not become real Americans; who will b) either not get jobs here and so be a public charge or will get jobs and so deprive the American workman of his prior rights; who c) if they get jobs, will live frugally, save their money, return home to Europe and deprive the United States of so much wealth in circulation; who d) if they stay here, may well introduce subversive elements into an American public already apprehensive (properly so) of communism—and so on.

Workers for the admission of large numbers of refugees have a simple answer: the horrid picture above is not true.

Where lies the truth? Is there any way of finding out just what are the dangers entailed if, say, 400,000 refugees were admitted to the United States in four years? Can we estimate the real and material gains probable—apart from the idealistic gain that such a humane spirit might well vindicate American verbal enthusiasm for the Four Freedoms and give effective example for other potential receiver-nations to go and do likewise?

Well, it is not any longer a mere matter of prejudiced conjecture—with the prejudice on whatever side. There is now available an exhaustive and objective study which would serve (if only it would be studied!) to set at rest the fearful bugaboos all too facilely inherent in the thought (threat) of a sudden wave of immigrants.

The Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe has been issued in a 440-page book, *Refugees in America*, by Maurice R. Davie, of Yale University (Harper, \$4.50). The Committee's work and the book have been sponsored by refugee organizations representing all faiths and many non-religious groups.

The survey on which the report-book is based covered 381 communities in forty-four States and the District of Columbia, and studied refugees from 1933 to 1943; 12,833 questionnaires were returned, analyzed—and the result ought to shock all of us out of a lot of preconceived fallacies about refugees in the United States. The shock is particularly salutary right now, because almost every fear that is being whipped up to block American reception of considerable numbers of present DP's finds either a certain or a very probable answer in the Report.

First, contrary to popular suspicion professionally played upon by "America-for-Americans" prejudice, there has not been a "wave of refugees" to the United States in the ten-year period. The maximum possible number of refugees admitted to this country from 1933-1943 was 318,235; if this number is scaled down to consider only all immigrants from Germany after 1933 as actual refugees, and immigrants from other Axis threatened or dominated countries as refugees at later dates, the refined number of refugees admitted to the United States will be 243,862. It is also popularly conceived that Jews have made up the vast majority of immigrants during that period. Actually, Jews have been a minority among immigrants—33.6 per cent—though they have, quite understandably, been a majority (67.6 per cent) among immigrants who have also been refugees.

Again, it has been widely thought, and not infrequently trumpeted by some of the less responsible elements of the American press, that a great many of the refugees came to the United States only to lap up American gravy, to better themselves financially. The report shows conclusively that refugee-immigrants, quite unlike earlier immigrants, have been overwhelmingly middle-class professional workers, business people and artisans who had no particular gains to look forward to, save the most ardently-desired gain of safety. No less than 67.5 per cent of those questioned said they came here to escape actually raging persecution (this was twice as frequently the case among the Jews as among the Christians, especially German and Austrian Jews); 21 per cent left to avoid anticipated persecution (this reason was more common among the Christians); 27 per cent of the Christian refugees, as compared to 1.5 per cent of the Jews, were political refugees, who left because of opposition to the government. Only 7 per cent came either to improve their economic status or to join their families or for temporary stay.

Moreover, they have not looked upon America as merely a temporary haven for which they would be somewhat grateful, but which they would promptly forget when their homelands regained some peace and stability. The huge majority of 96.5 per cent are fully determined to become wholly and completely Americans, to uproot their ties to the old countries and identify themselves with this land and its weal and woe. This fact is illustrated throughout the whole section of the Report which studies the social and cultural adjustment of the refugees. For example, again contrary to popular suspicion that refugees have tended to congregate in ghettos, 34.1 per cent have their residence in neighborhoods where there are no

other recent immigrants; 43.6 live where there are but few; only 17.5 abide where there is a heavy concentration of earlier immigrants.

Similarly, the friends of 42.3 of them are mainly native Americans, of 42 per cent mainly recent immigrants, and of 12.5 per cent about equally divided (and this is remarkable when we remember that short period of time the refugees being studied have resided here). Likewise, 41.5 per cent report that the only language they use at home is English and 26 per cent use English as their second tongue. Finally, 20 per cent of the refugees have been married since they arrived here; while 67 per cent of that number have been married to other refugees, 30.2 per cent of the men and 17 per cent of the women have married native Americans.

As final considerations to show how truly American the refugees have become, there are impressive studies in the Report on the loyalty of the so-called "enemy-alien," of the contributions of the refugees in the armed forces during the war and in the total war effort.

Well, the opposition will say, perhaps the refugees have not been quite so many as we supposed and perhaps they have become almost real Americans, but still there are sections of the country where they have been unhealthily concentrated and as prominent as the proverbial sore thumb. That, of course, is the common complaint one

hears in New York City. What are the facts?

These: even if *all* the refugees admitted to the United States from 1933 to 1943 had settled down in New York, they would comprise *three per cent* of the city's entire population. New York is *not* swarming with refugees; a maximum estimate gives 70,000 as the city's refugee population, or 0.9 per cent of the whole—and, again contradicting all popular sentiment, a higher percentage of Jews

(78.6) than of Christians (69.5), originally arriving in New York, has left the city.

Yes, but how have refugees effected American economic life? Isn't it true that they have literally taken jobs away from the American working-man and bread from his mouth? The Report mentions and recalls the current, but little-noticed, refutation of such charges made in connection with large department stores in New York, Brooklyn, Pittsburgh and Milwaukee. It gives as well the true answer to the canard that thousands of refugees (mainly Jews, of course) were buying up huge blocs of New York real estate, and states that "it is generally agreed by New York real-estate interests that the effect of refugee enterprise in this field has been beneficial."

The fact that 72.5 per cent of the refugees have been gainfully employed since their arrival here, while attest-



ing to their industry, may give rise to the suspicion that they have pushed native American workers out of jobs. There was little likelihood, for the period covered by the report was one of expanded war industry; workers were needed and the refugees helped fill the need. But even so, it can be prudently judged that even in normal times the influx of refugees would not seriously glut the labor market. For example, 1,000 of the 1933-1943 refugees had been business men in the old countries and they went into business here, and the proportion of American workers they employed was high; 64 refugee firms employed 734 Americans as against 206 fellow refugees in 1939; in 1941, of 715 firms surveyed, two-thirds of 9,000 workers were Americans.

In another field, the report allays undue fears about economic competition. By 1944, 456 refugee families had been settled on family-sized farms; 194 reporting themselves as owners were farm owners, and 180 of them (another blow to preconceived notions!) were Jews. There are many other ways detailed in the Report of how the refugees contributed to the economic life of the nation. One of the most interesting is the transference of the world's diamond industry to New York.

But what of the professions? Have not the recent refugees been flooding the country with doctors, for example? No. The total number of physicians and dentists admitted would come to about three per cent of the total number of physicians and surgeons enumerated in the 1940 census. In addition, not all by far who were admitted to the country practised here, for this professional group met the greatest opposition. And what of teachers in our universities—did the refugees overrun the campus? Well, of the 13,000 questionnaires, only 425 were answered by university professors, who found work in America similar to former work abroad; and again popular fancy takes a jolt, for 57 per cent were Christians, 36 per cent Jews.

Other fascinating sections of the Report take up such questions as what the refugees think of America (they have been shocked by the treatment they see accorded Negroes and appalled by the amount of anti-Semitism—and on this latter point both Christian and Jewish refugees alike have spoken); how Americans have treated the refugees (one in four has experienced some form of discrimination, and the proportion is almost identical among Christian and Jewish refugees); and, consolingly, the overwhelming testimony of gratitude and affection these succored people feel for their new land and its natives.

The entire book-report is a revelation and a much needed corrective to prejudices and suspicions which were rampant during the later part of the ten years covered, and which still color much of the thinking about America's responsibilities toward the DP's. There are, of course, important differences between the refugees who came here from 1933 to 1943 and the hundreds of thousands now in UNRRA camps in Europe. It is possible, for example, though there are few statistics available as a basis for judgment, that a fair percentage of the present DP's are of a lower social and cultural level than the

refugees studied above. However, even if this be true, it ought to cause no insuperable trouble, for, as Dr. Davie remarks: "the history of immigration reveals that the absorption of working class people and peasants has been easier than that of intellectuals." Moreover, there are still scantily populated areas in the American labor field which would make the absorption of the DP's not too difficult a matter. The building trades, for instance, and farm labor could well handle not a small number of recruits.

But whatever the differences which may render the admission of large numbers of DP's temporarily embarrassing, there is one essential likeness which makes a serious attempt to solve their problem imperative—the DP's now, like the refugees already received and successfully become Americans, seek a permanent haven from persecution, religious or political.

From all the above summary, and much more from the complete Report itself, it seems safe to say of future DP's admitted to the United States what Dr. Davie says of the refugees: "It all points to the conclusion that, while refugees have received the great boon of sanctuary, the adopting country has benefited as much, if not more, from their coming."

To congressional leaders, to all in a position to shape national policy, I recommend an earnest reading of this Report. If, after an unprejudiced study of it, such leaders can still maintain that our immigration laws must not be revised at the very least to the extent of filling up, say, ten years of unused quotas (that alone would take care of well over 800,000), then I am afraid all we can do is shamefacedly to introduce another bill into Congress to have the verse that quite gloriously decorates the Statue of Liberty changed to a simpler and terser "Keep Out."

## **Mr. Nunn on Nunn-Bush**

**David Keyser**

(The Nunn-Bush Shoe Company of Milwaukee has long been known as having one of the best management-labor policies in the community. Mr. Henry L. Nunn, former president of the company, recently spoke to a local gathering about labor relations. David Keyser, a Milwaukee attorney, was so impressed by his talk that he later interviewed Mr. Nunn. We present here the interview. Without endorsing all of Mr. Nunn's views, we feel that he is making a valuable contribution to better industrial relations.)

"*Mr. Nunn, your company, in its thirty-five years of existence, has never had a strike. What is your opinion of the cause of so many strikes throughout the country?*"

"We all wonder about that. Especially when we know that there is usually good will and intelligence on both sides—both on the part of management and on the part

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of labor—and still there are strikes. It seems to me that there is a general misunderstanding as to the cause of strikes. Even the newspapers talk about how many years it will take the workers to make up the wages they lost through strikes. Wages are not the only cause. The fundamental things that the worker wants are security and recognition. It is the lack of this security or recognition which is the primary cause of strikes. The worker may not express this fact when he strikes—he may not have the idea clearly in his own mind, but nevertheless it is this basic lack which creates a frame of mind in the worker so that he can be influenced to strike.

"Management-labor relations is not primarily an economic problem. It is also a social and psychological problem. A worker strikes for the same reason one man hits another man. The worker is mad at the boss and he wants to hurt him. And the only way he knows how is to strike. It is just a way of telling the boss to go to hell."

*"You believe you have never had a strike at your plant because your workers have both security and recognition?"*

"Yes, I think that's true. But that is not exceptional. There are thousands of companies throughout the country which have never had any labor trouble. After all, a man never gets his name in the papers until he beats up his wife. Small companies, especially, are usually free of labor trouble. And why? Because in a small plant the boss usually knows all the employes personally, knows about their background and their family; the employe is recognized, and he has a greater margin of security than in a large factory. Our company was that way when it first started thirty-five years ago.

"Now we have over a thousand employes. At first, I did all the hiring and firing, knew each man personally. When we began to get a little larger, I called in the men and said: 'We are working here together to produce shoes. From now on the management will consult you on any changes of any kind, even to the discharge of an employe. We will both get together, talk it over and agree what to do. And in any case if we can't agree, we will call in an outsider to arbitrate the matter. Is that agreed?' And they said it was agreed. And it has worked that way ever since. We have never had to call in any outsider to arbitrate our disputes. We haven't always agreed, but before we ever had to submit it to arbitration, either one side or the other side has backed down. Sometimes I backed down. Sometimes they backed down. Sometimes we have compromised.

"Some managements talk so much about their so-called sacred prerogatives. They say, 'This is my business and I am going to run it as I please.' They want to dictate to labor. Such an attitude merely begets a similar attitude on the part of labor. And soon the manager who wants to dictate to labor will find labor dictating to him. Workers are pretty much the same everywhere. If you treat them fairly they will treat you fairly. There is little difference in labor groups. There is no difference in dollars. It is the management of a company which makes the biggest difference between one concern and another.

When we started in business there were twenty-one shoe factories in Milwaukee. Today only three of them are still in business."

*"I see that under your system the workmen have achieved recognition. How about security?"*

"Anyone who has worked more than two years at our plant becomes a part of the share-production group, so that his wages will be proportional to the total production. Also, seventy to eighty per cent of the production workers are guaranteed against layoffs. The number guaranteed is limited to 595, and a worker cannot become a part of this group until someone else leaves or dies. Right now, however, anyone who finishes the two-year probationary period can enter the guaranteed group immediately, since it is now under 595. However, any worker who starts working for us after he is forty-five is not eligible for the guaranteed group.

"In 1935 we began our annual wage system. We took a look at our books and we discovered that over a ten-year period the percentage amount we paid out each year for direct labor varied little, even though those years covered both boom years and depression years. During those ten years our direct labor costs varied from about nineteen per cent to twenty-one per cent of our total sales. So it was a simple matter to gauge our labor cost for the year, estimate an employe's yearly income and divide it by fifty-two. As the year progresses, the weekly check can be adjusted slightly, if necessary. I don't know where the hourly wage idea came from, but it must have been invented by the devil. Nobody lives by the hour. Why should his work be figured by the hour? A person can get \$25 an hour and what good is it if there is no multiplier?

"Another thing. Wages should be kept proportional to prices. This is almost impossible under a standard hourly wage system, but is easily done under a wage system that is geared to prices as an annual wage system can be. In our plant, if the price of shoes goes up the wages also go up simultaneously, since the wages are always a certain fraction of the total sales value. Under an hourly wage system wages always lag behind in an inflationary period and lag behind again in a deflationary period. In the first case they are too low and the worker's dollar loses its buying power, and in the other case wages are too high and business is forced to close down.

"When the depression came on in 1930 we boasted that we would be the last to lower our wage rates. And perhaps we lived up to that boast, but we did it only by cutting some of the men's wages down to zero—we laid them off. Now I see how mistaken that policy was. We should have kept producing and have kept lowering our prices until the people started buying our shoes—just as a retail merchant does. In the process, of course, we would continue to lower wages proportionately, but if we kept the wages geared to the prices, our workers would still be receiving a wage which bore the same ratio to the price of our shoes. Producers should take a cue from the retail merchant. A retail merchant continues to slash his price until the stock moves off the shelf. Likewise a producer should regard his productive ability as

goods on the shelf which must be moved, instead of closing down when he can't get his price. Production, not price, is the key to continued prosperity."

"Would you say that your attitude toward labor is paternalistic?"

"By no means. We treat the workers like men, as they are, on a basis of equality. I know that some concerns do have a paternalistic attitude toward labor. Small companies are often that way. They may sincerely like their workers but sometimes it may be a cloak to prevent organization. But a workman has an unerring instinct for being able to tell whether you are sincere or not. I remember one manufacturer who said to me, 'You know, we tried all that once. We put on a big picnic for all the men. Our company furnished all the beer and food and everything. And you know what those fellows did at the picnic—they started to organize a union.'

"I suppose some manufacturers would say that we have thrown away all the prerogatives of management at our plant. But I'll wager we have more influence in our plant by reason of respect than they have in theirs by reason of power. In the first place, we keep everyone informed. Each day we post figures and charts in the plant showing our daily production, our orders on hand and our schedules. Everyone is interested, of course, since the over-all production ultimately is reflected in their wages. Each morning at ten o'clock we have a meeting at which all the workers and departments are represented, and anything can be brought up for discussion. Thus everyone knows what is going on.

"Then we confer with the union representatives on everything we plan. We even have a union representative on our board of directors. No one is hired, fired, transferred or promoted without conferring with the union. We do the same before changing the price of our shoes, and did recently when we decided to expand our plant. A worker has a right to know what is going on in the business and have some say about it. It is just common sense."

"But what about the rights of the stockholders?"

"The responsibility of management is as much to the employes as to the stockholders. After all, the employe has a risk as well as the stockholder. He has his whole life tied up in his job—his risk in the success of the company is even greater than the average stockholder's. And so likewise he should share in the prosperity of the company for the risk that he takes, over and above what he gets in wages for the work he performs. When you get right down to the truth, management is perhaps the largest factor in producing profits, and perhaps the management ought to be rewarded proportionately. I'm not speaking now of those self-perpetuating managements who always vote themselves good fat salaries. Often the managers who cry so loudly that they must protect the stockholders' interests are the very ones who violate the stockholders' rights themselves, by withholding earnings from them beyond the needs of conservatism and using the money to expand the business without even consulting the stockholder. By right, they should really distribute most of the earnings and then ask the stockholders if

they want to reinvest in expanding the business. But that's getting off onto another subject."

"What kind of union do you have at your plant?"

"It is an independent union. I know that is always looked upon with suspicion, but that is the way the men want it. One time the AFL came in and wanted to organize the plant. We told them to go ahead and even told them they could use our hall if they wanted it. But they didn't get to first base. Personally I can't see this business where organized labor gathers together all the plant unions on one side and then the trade organizations of employers gather all the companies together on the other side and they array themselves against each other—in battle formation. It really should be cut up, so that each company and each union is working together in each plant to produce the goods, in competition with other plants, and with wages geared to production and price, so that the wages are stable in relation to prices, and proportional to productivity."

"This shoe industry is a comparatively stable industry. Do you think your methods could work successfully in other industries?"

"Yes, I do. Some industries could not work as steadily. But workers can only earn a share of production and their income could be paid weekly, regardless of how a man works. He has to live on his annual income and he is better off to receive the same pay check each week rather than a widely variable one based on the hours he works each week.

"But there is no 'formula' or 'plan' which will solve the basic management-labor difficulties. What is necessary is a completely new viewpoint—a broader understanding of the fundamental relationship which should exist between management and labor. Without this change in viewpoint no mere 'plan' will succeed."

## Looking forward

At a time when the world is looking to America for leadership, and when the Holy Father hopes and prays that we shall exercise our leadership in a truly Christian way, it is imperative that American Catholics should be able to provide our country with leaders. Whence can we more naturally expect our Catholic leaders to come than from our Catholic colleges? But Emily R. Scanlan, graduate of a Catholic college, has her doubts. Casting back over her own college career some ten years ago, she does not find what she thinks should have been done there, if the college aimed at producing Catholic leaders. Next week's AMERICA will present her challenging article.

Many an eye is cocked at Britain these days, where the Labor Government is remodeling the country nearer to its heart's desire. Francis J. Farrell, in "Bright Spot in British Socialism" examines one of the crisis-born expedients that may prove to be of permanent value—the Working Party.

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# Literature & Art

## By her son

Sister Frances Teresa

It is fifty years since a slim volume bearing the double author entry

By Her Son

J. M. Barrie

appeared. It was *Margaret Ogilvy*, masterpiece of tenderness, the loveliest mother-tribute one may ever hope to read. To James Barrie, in the way of the Scot, she was always Margaret—Margaret Ogilvy, her maiden name. Now, a half-century later, it seems to me that one can take a copy of Barrie's mother, seek out a quiet corner, and re-read at one sitting one's own mother in the light of a son's tender tribute. There must be no interruption. It must be a sacred hour when Mother and you are alone again, joying, sharing, suffering as the case may be, a re-living of all that was best and finest in one's own relationship with Mother.

One wonders how the *World Book Encyclopedia* could discuss the stories and plays of Barrie and picture Peter Pan so adequately and yet pass by Margaret Ogilvy. Compton's does better in calling it Barrie's "greatest book." Few biographies in collections include her. Perhaps it is because one must know her whole "by her son" that she has not been edited. So let us take this 1896 volume and sit apart awhile in 1947 to grow richer in our appreciation of Mother through the eyes of Margaret Ogilvy's son.

First of all, why did God send her into the world? "It was to open the minds of all who looked to beautiful thoughts. And that is the beginning and end of literature." There come to us the twilight story hours. For me there were Irish saints and legends; yours may have been Andersen's *Fairy Tales*, or *Heidi* or stories of Clovis or Isabella or King Arthur. It matters not who. The thing that counts is that our mothers knew beautiful thoughts to give us at the end of day. *Terry and the Pirates* and *Superman* from a wooden box can never be "the beginning and end of literature." How rich indeed we were!

Do you remember Mother's care for all the fine furniture of the home? Margaret Ogilvy has it—stealing into the west room to see her six hair-bottomed chairs, "doctoring a scar, sitting in them regally, withdrawing and re-opening the door to take them by surprise." Or perhaps it was the screen brought from the east room to guard her from draughts, but which she thought too beautiful for use and so would put it back where she might "take pleasant peeps at it." This care differs with mothers. Some cherish clocks, others regard rugs; this

one collects lovely linens; my mother desired old china. There was always a triumph in the purchase of new dishes. Each set had its revered place—the blue ones for everyday use, the gold-rimmed for Sunday, the "best set" for big days like First Communion, graduation and, I suppose, the day I became a nun.

In common with Margaret Ogilvy my mother wanted to do all the work herself. In later years when my married sister insisted on help, it is told how before the helper came, all was in order, so that the two ladies sat by the hour chatting of this and that, as if (like Margaret again) there had been this stipulation regarding "her maid of all work":

- 1) I'll fold all the linen myself.
- 2) I'll put my own chest of drawers in order.
- 3) It's for me to clean out the east room.

Both Margaret and my mother loved to finger "delicious linen"; both had "raptures on their faces when the clothes-basket came in." Each, too, had her little vanities in the ways of clothes and jewelry. Margaret had memories of a "pale blue costume with a pale blue bonnet, the white ribbons of which tied aggravatingly beneath the chin." Moreover, when she got the "Misrah ring she did carry that finger in such a way that the most reluctant must see." With my mother it was a wine-red blouse that must have gone beautifully with her jet black hair. Her jewel was a cameo pin exquisitely lovely. Again, if a knock came to the door, Margaret Ogilvy was gone to "put on her cap." I remember my mother's hurried steps to the best bedroom where a snowy apron was kept in readiness against the unexpected coming of callers.

All mothers love a bit of extravagance now and then. With Margaret it was the christening robe, her one spending spree of "rushing to the shops to be foolish." Though this one garment not stitched by herself was dear to her heart, yet it was loaned countless times to other mothers. It seemed as if the "letting go was twice possessing," as if she re-lived her own joys in seeing other infants clad in the robe. All my pinafores and early dresses were of mother's making, but somehow when school days came there was always a fall and spring sewing bee, with Cousin Mayme in to do the fashions from remnants bought carefully where coins would go farthest.

My mother, like Margaret, was an excellent cook. Margaret Ogilvy's pride was to "bake twenty-four bannocks [oatmeal cakes baked on a griddle] in the hour and not chip one of them. And how many she gave away and what pretty ways she had of giving it!" My memories are of molasses cookies and sugared crullers arranged on blue plates on the pantry shelf where Emily and Anna and Helen and Amy and I might have "a bit of a lunch" when school was over. She was always there when we came from school to hear of our little honors.

To this day in a secret box she keeps all our report cards, prizes, medals just as after Margaret's death Barrie found "she had preserved in a little box with a photograph of me as a child, the envelopes which had contained my first cheques."

There was one spot on the road where James Barrie turned a thousand times to wave his stick to her while Margaret nodded and smiled and kissed her hand to him, according to an English custom she had learned. My mother stood at the door to see us off; and somehow managed to be there, too, to let us in.

All mothers in common have little prevarications regarding their doings when we believe they should be resting. Just as Margaret Ogilvy, caught in the act, would deny having been from her bed, so too, when a time of rest has been prescribed for my mother, she will steal forth to feed "the poor robins" or to pluck the last rose for the table.

"Have you been out today?" we ask her.

"Maybe," says she.

"Where?"

"Thereabouts," with a finality that ends all questioning.

Sorrow came to Margaret Ogilvy when David died. That is how she got her soft face. That was when her dear son James used all his wiles to make her smile. We

were all under ten years when my father died; so soft lines came early to my mother, too. Margaret was Barrie's heroine. When she had lived six years beyond her three score and ten, she grew ill. They told her James was coming. "Her will come as quick as trains can bring him," she said. That was her son's reward. He tells us,

Everything I could do for her in this life I have done since I was a boy; I look back through the years and I can not see the smallest thing left undone.

There for me is Barrie's greatness. If on the eve of Mother's day every year, all sons were to read this passage and resolve to follow it, what a fine world for mothers this would be! That is why Pocket Books or Penguin or Bantam books should bring out copies of *Margaret Ogilvy*, so that every schoolboy in the land might own one; every grown son, every father carry one in his coat pocket. Daily it could be read, so that in it one might see again the glories of his own mother, love her as she deserves to be loved, keep closer to her ideals, knowing that she has had "the rounded completeness of a woman's life."

Quietly we close *Margaret Ogilvy*, By Her Son. No wonder God smiled on her so often. Thus, too, does He smile on my mother rounding out her years. And how she will smile when she reads this—By Her Daughter!

## Willa Cather's spirit

There is little that AMERICA can say to swell the chorus of eminently deserved praise occasioned by the recent death of Willa Cather. All editorials and articles on her and her work were at pains to point out what is, indeed, well known—that Miss Cather never once stooped to any sort of pandering to low taste, unsavory realism, or to the lure of writing below her ideal best for the mere sake of turning out a best-selling story.

But there is one element which the secular press did not stress in its tributes. That element, which goes far in being the key to all Miss Cather's artistic integrity, was her sound and healthy spirituality. Certainly, readers of *Death Comes for the Archbishop* and *Shadow on the Rock*, particularly, will have recognized in their author one who spoke the same language (with only the very slightest trace of an accent) about God and the concerns of the soul as the most devout Roman Catholic does.

In addition to this internal evidence, I have correspondence with Miss Cather over a period of some years, and in almost every letter the same testimony is proffered. Here is part of one—I quote reflections that have no exact bearing on the present point, but which, I think, are extremely interesting:

Naturally I am pleased by your friendly reference to me [in an article of Feb. 7, 1942, "Modern Authors Can Be Gentlemen"], but I am much more pleased by the way in which you take up the question of the slender relation between the *very* modern authors and the English language. . . . Some bright boy on the *New Yorker* found that in *The Grapes*

of *Wrath* the characters sit on their "hams" thirty-six times. Now there are so many other names for that part of the human body (some of them vulgar enough to suit Steinbeck's purpose, and less suggestive of the delicatessen shop), it is rather alarming to see the magnificent reach of the language silent except for one octave, on which little boys seem to be pounding the same keys over and over with one finger.

She then goes on to discuss, in contrast, Samuel Morison's *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, and concludes:

Morison's book, I think, ought to be read by every scholarly Catholic. His treatment (indeed, his discovery) of the very important part religion played in Columbus' life is to me a revelation. I don't know what Mr. Morison's personal religion may be, but certainly he has a great understanding of what a source of power profound faith may be in another man.

And in another letter, responding to a question what she thought might be the effect of the war on literature, she would not venture a guess, because

how can we have any opinion about a thing which has never happened before? Never before has war meant destruction and enslavement of whole civilian populations, an effort to destroy all religions—and with them the ideals of conduct which have for two thousand years influenced societies in their upward struggle.

Certainly Miss Cather's novels were permeated by those very ideals of conduct. Her death has removed from the American literary scene something we can sorely afford to lose—a truly modern, a truly Christian novelist.

H. C. G.

# Books

## Kremlin's scared men

### WHY THEY BEHAVE LIKE RUSSIANS

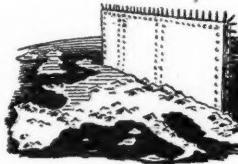
By John Fischer. Harper. 262p. \$2.75

The author of the much-heralded *Why They Behave Like Russians* was recently prominent in the press due to his controversy with his former chief, Marshall MacDuffie, head of the UNRRA Mission to Ukraine. Mr. Fischer was a member of the latter, and at the same time a staff writer of *Harper's* magazine. In such double capacity he went to Kiev, capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Since 1933, when he attended Oxford University, Mr. Fischer has been a diligent student of Soviet affairs. This field of knowledge was considerably broadened by his experience as reporter, civil servant, assistant editor of *Harper's* and a wartime official of the Board of Economic Warfare. It was especially in the last capacity that he gained additional information on the Soviet Union by examining and classifying hundreds of intelligence reports on Soviet economic and political developments. In the spring of 1946 he was offered a chance to go to the Ukraine with the UNRRA Mission. His present book, then, is an outgrowth of a study of Russian history and of his brief experiences in Moscow and Kiev.

His book has already stirred considerable comment, although it is neither an anti-Russian nor a pro-Soviet work. It is rather an objective, dispassionate report by a young and eager author who had the ambition to write a book on the Soviets different from all others. In that sense he cannot be likened to James Burnham, William C. Bullitt or Victor Kravchenko, who are dynamic and provocative advocates of a speedy acceptance of the Soviet challenge. Nor does he follow the line of such other writers as Maurice Hindus, Walter Duranty or Joseph E. Davies, who saw the same things as Mr. Fischer did, yet ended with writings that won Soviet official approval.

Mr. Fischer spent most of his time in the Soviet Union among the Ukrainians, particularly in Kiev and its vicinity. Therefore his observations and impressions are necessarily limited to but one Soviet republic, a state in-

habited not by the Russians but by the Ukrainians. It is regrettable that, with the exception of one or two chapters, he constantly speaks of the people as Russians, thus giving the impression that the Ukrainians or "Texans in fur hats"—as he affectionately calls them—are truly Russians. This is, of course, not so. When he is so disposed, however, he speaks of the Ukrainians as an entirely different people, with their own tradition, language, culture and political heritage. For example, he underlines the fact that the Ukraine possesses a deeply-rooted nationalism which is evident even under the iron rule of the Politburo and the NKVD. He stresses the fact that the present "bosses" of Ukraine, such as Nikita Khruschev (replaced recently by Lazar Kaganovich) and Dmitri Z. Manuilsky, Stalin's trouble-shooter in the United Nations, are outsiders. The genuine Ukrainian leaders, such as Skrypnik, Lubchenko, Bondarenko, Petrovsky and others, have long disappeared as dangerous opponents of Stalin's rule in the Ukraine.



The author came to the inevitable conclusion, nevertheless, that there is little freedom in the Ukraine, and still less political independence. Stalin was aware of a nation-wide distrust of his rule in the Ukraine and, in order to placate the Ukrainians, who had suffered the brunt of German destruction, did consent to some temporary relaxation of the central control. But to what extent this was done, Mr. Fischer is unable to tell. He is extremely skeptical on that score. The use of the Ukrainian language, he writes, was permitted in the government, administration and schools long ago. Yet all the big officials whom he met were shy when it came to speaking Ukrainian. Without exception, they preferred to speak Russian. The common people of the Ukraine, in Mr. Fischer's opinion, are very hard-working and virtuous people. Their poverty is unbelievable, they work long hours and have apparently little hope for the amelioration of their living conditions in the near future. To this reviewer his observations and analysis of the Ukrainians are very close to reality.

The second line of Mr. Fischer's thinking in *Why They Behave Like Russians* runs on the level of high politics. These include his views on the Politburo, the Communist Party, the NKVD (now identified as MVD—Ministry of Internal Affairs), the Soviet Army, armaments and the most discussed topic of the day, American-Soviet relations. The author believes that the fourteen men of the Politburo suffer from a very dangerous *malaise* which is a "fear neurosis." The Soviet rulers are deadly afraid of everybody: the United States, a non-existent "capitalist encirclement" and most of all their own citizens. It is true, pursues Mr. Fischer, that the Soviet Union is incapable of waging a war. But the Kremlin leaders fear that the world is constantly conspiring against them. Therefore, they are determined to build a *cordon sanitaire*, composed of a series of "friendly governments" and buffer states. They have also embarked on a huge five-year-plan destined to boost Soviet industrial and military production with a view to the inevitability of a war.

Mr. Fischer's thinking about American-Soviet relations is parallel with the official line of the United States foreign policy. We must be strong; we must not allow ourselves to become intimidated by the "scared men of the Kremlin." Nothing is so dangerous, he says, as a badly frightened man. The author believes that many of the top-notch Communists of Stalin's hierarchy are not only scared, but they are fanatics and conspirators who see danger everywhere. He is also extremely doubtful whether the Soviets will successfully cooperate within the United Nations.

What, then, lies behind the seeming inability of the East and West to work together in peace? Mr. Fischer has no answer to that question. He feels that there must be a limit to the Russian aggression, and the United States is the only country who can do more than merely tranquilly acquiesce to the fall of one country after another.

Mr. Fischer contends that the military strength of the Soviet Union is not at its peak. It is precisely Russia's weakness that dictates her uncompromising and stubborn attitude toward the western Powers, especially with respect to the United States.

*Why They Behave Like Russians* is, indeed, an informative report on a vital subject which will make absorbing and interesting reading.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

## SHAME ON YOU

if you didn't get around to reading that book you were going to read in Religious Book Week, and if you didn't even mean to read one, more shame on you still. How do you expect to get to heaven? (And how do you expect us to go on publishing?) But it's still possible to read spiritual books, even after May 11th, and if you make it a book on Our Lady (seeing this is her month) you may yet be forgiven. Here are two:

### THE REED OF GOD

by Caryll Houselander  
\$2.00

### THE SPLENDOR OF THE ROSARY

by Maisie Ward  
\$2.50

And there are some superb pictures of Our Lady in really good color in the \$5.00 Gift Edition of THE NEW TESTAMENT (translated by Msgr. Ronald Knox, with 30 color plates, in case you don't know). We have just heard that this is much in demand among seminarians as an ordination gift. We hope this will give someone an idea. The Magnificat is given with the other canticles at the end of Msgr. Ronald Knox's new translation of THE PSALMS (\$2.00), and we suspect Our Lady likes this translation even better than the one we all know. Incidentally, if there are verses in the Psalms themselves that have puzzled you (like the one about the Psalmist being distressed because he is surrounded by fat calves), you will be enchanted to find how much more sense they make in this version. F. J. Sheed's THEOLOGY AND SANITY (\$3.00) will tell you a lot about Our Lady, too, as well as giving all but the already hard-boiled theologian a better grasp of theology than they ever expected to have.

You can order any or all of these books from any bookstore, or from us:

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### Poverty, love and war

#### THE TIN FLUTE

By Gabrielle Roy. Reynal and Hitchcock. 315p. \$3

The dust-jacket of this book and most of the ads I have seen seem to me to do a bad job of emphasis. They all highlight the impression that this is the story of the young daughter, Florentine, of the poor Montreal family of the Lacasse's. The daughter does, indeed, play a large role in the tale, as we follow her doomed infatuation with a hard, ambitious young mechanic which leads, mainly through her own fault, to her seduction and then to her marriage with another, more stable and human young man.

But Florentine and her flighty, cinema-fed, desperate grasping for love and security are only a foil for the real heroine of this somber and sympathetic annal of the poor. It is the mother, patient, resourceful, loving Rose-Anne, who carries the family and the book.

She is married to an inveterate optimist, once a master carpenter, who lost his trade in the depression, and then drifted from job to job, getting involved in one debt-producing scheme after another, always waiting for the big killing that was mirage-like always just around the corner. But withal he was a kind and loving father and husband, and if he was more effective as the corner-tavern pundit than as a provider for the large family, it is easy to see how Rose-Anne fell in love with him as a young girl, and why she loves him still.

Beneath this simple story, *The Tin Flute* is a mildly sardonic commentary on today's world and its sense of values. The only salvation (materially) that comes to the family comes occasioned by the war. One son first enlists, just why he does not know, and his allotment tides over in one of the recurrent financial crises of the family. Finally the father, too, awakened at last to his improvidence, solves the problem the same way, but at the same time forces a tremendous sacrifice on his long-suffering wife. The author is not saying "isn't it wonderful that some good comes out of war"; rather she is reflecting on the impotence of a society that can solve such human agonies only when society itself is plunged into the greatest of physical agonies, that of war.

There is perhaps too much unrelieved gray in the story; there is not

one least flash of humor. The people of whom she writes, of course, and writes very lovingly, did lead gray lives, but we would expect them to show a little more Gallic gaiety. Yes, it is a somber tale, but it is as well an heroic one.

Above all, in the midst of all the poverty, sickness, defeat and dulling insecurity, there is not one instance wherein either mother or father feel the slightest suspicion that maybe, after all, the "for worse" clause in their marriage vows did not include *this*. That worst of all defeats did not menace them; the book, as were their lives, is shot through, simply and unostentatiously, with a Catholic concept of the stability of marriage. The father had that concept, but it was Rose-Anne who gave it backbone. We close the book wondering if Florentine, not half the woman her mother was, will live her married life with the same conviction that she and her husband have been made one never to be put asunder.

HAROLD C. GARDNER

### The controlling Fact

#### THEOLOGY AND SANITY

By F. J. Sheed. Sheed and Ward. 401p. \$3

Superlatives by the half-dozen, with a very few minor reserves, have already summarized this utterly and simply satisfying résumé of all that God is telling us each day about Himself, His world and His children. Many a reader will feel he does it full justice with the Prophet's "ah, ah, ah" and a triple *alleluia* for the Paschal season. Perhaps it was all for the best that the literary guilds did not see the little jewel coming, or, seeing it, decided not to risk it as one more "Book of the Age" on the bill-boards or in the full-page advertising. The publishers, already notorious for their modesty and reverence for the "trade" they stubbornly persist in viewing as a Christian apostolate, should be richly consoled to see the book sell and satisfy on its own solid merit, without benefit of ballyhoo.

Its merit is much enhanced by its timeliness—a serious miss, again, for the literary guilds. To say nothing of adult and alert Christians, their study-clubs and convert-classes, for whom the book is designed, surely no generation has ever needed its warning more sorely than ours, nor yearned more desperately in its heart of hearts for the solace of these pages. For there is solace and salutary warning abundant in such a clear-cut view as this of Chris-

tinianity as controlling Fact, not merely as concept or system of thought; as Person-to-person challenge to all of us, not merely to the household of the faith. Sheed insists on our seeing with the Church that God, in Claudel's phrase, is Someone, not some Thing; that His Personal Love creates and sustains us; that He has come Personally to dwell amongst us as Master, Saviour and Sanctifier of His universe; that He fills up all that is wanting to our "insufficiency" by literally incorporating us to fullness of life in His Body.

This is the very real world in which we live and love. There is peril to our individual and collective sanity in blinking or blurring the Fact. By the handy device of precision, some philosophers and politicians find It "above" them, and a dwindling few scientists find It "beyond" them, though It conditions all our hypotheses, theories and laws, dogging every experiment with a Personal equation that will not be discarded or denied. The rest of us, too many millions, have eyes to see but see not, or see not steadily enough. This book is a reminder which catches us at a moment when our passion for "facts" and even our pride in them is at fever pitch. It is the very hour for "theology"—would "religion" perhaps be better in that title?—to restore us to sanity by focusing on the Christian Fact (not controversy) that alone gives meaning and value to all the others.

Your reviewer sandwiched in his third delightful reading between a tussle with Lecomte du Nouy's *Human Destiny* and the still, sad music of Carlo Levi's *Christ Stopped at Eboli*. Running through his mind persists a devastatingly simple phrase contributed by Stringfellow Barr to the recently published symposium of our Episcopalian friends, *Towards a Better World*. It runs like this: "We needn't look for any social reconstruction until we establish our premises." Quite simply, Frank Sheed has done just that. To the artist, scientist, sinner and planner he presents, with easy and unlaborious argument (when he argues at all) our premises—incarnate in the living Christ.

He works this little miracle of sorts in a style that is homey, effortless, seasonably curt, and broken here and there by a charming burst of frolic prose or verse, revealing marks of the *tranquilla possessio*, deepened by prayer, which keeps the infidel and worldling envious, and the apostles joyous and unafraid! Deceptively, this smoothly-articulated volume seems hardly

planned or contrived at all. Readers who save tables of contents to the end will ask contentedly: what could be more natural than a look-about (and within) at God, the universe and myself? Scripture, tradition and the manuals, affectionately invoked, are made to appear what they really are, so much help for our fragile intelligence to recognize a pageant that is real. Their "authority" seems always to invite, rather than to impose itself. What Saint Thomas said, prodigious as that was, matters so much less than what he saw! Discreetly, too, the author's own experience with men and movements faced with the Fact are introduced in chatty fashion, to keep the canvas reasonably safe from excessive abstraction.

Thus far the dithyramb. The "satisfied" reader may feel the need of some further clarification of the "testing of men and angels" (p. 140), some worry about those "variously damaged bodies with which each soul is united at the beginning of each man's life" (p. 164), some little sense of the unreal in the author's complaint that we think too little of "degrees of glory in Heaven" (p. 387). After all, he has not been reading a perfect book. Only a very good one.

By way of anti-climax, it might be suggested that the author's sane theology is easier on the mind and heart than on the eye. Some concession might be made in future editions—may they be many!—to our weakness for subtitles instead of number-heads within

chapters of such range and richness. The book digests as well piecemeal as at long gulps, and the reader or student, once caught in the sweep of the whole, will wish to return at leisure or need to some special bit of these "infinite riches in a little room." Some books are to be tasted, again and again.

J. EDWARD COFFEY, S.J.

#### THE PURPLE TESTAMENT

Edited by Don M. Wolfe. Doubleday. 340p. \$2.50

Don M. Wolfe conducted a class of creative writing at American University, Washington, D. C. His pupils wrote this book. The authors were fifty-three disabled veterans, eleven of whom had suffered amputations from combat wounds. Only three were college graduates and but four, commissioned officers.

Good writing is something like going to confession. The student must give of himself, must reveal himself. He must live again his moments of joy and sorrow and anguish; he must endure once more interior struggles, this time pen in hand. To persuade battle-scarred veterans to conquer jangled nerves and overcome stored-up inhibitions was no small task. Here the professor succeeded admirably. These writers, though young, have lived. What a wealth of experiences they crowd into the book as they tell stories of early days at home on the farm or in the city; pass on to their travels, to the

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By Louis Francis Budenz

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What is the chief value of the volume? Its theme is that communism is completely Moscow-dominated for Moscow's political purposes. . . . Parallel with this understanding. . . . Soviet Russia was bent on the total destruction of Catholicism and the entire system of morality and human dignity for which it stands."—Robert C. Hartnett, in *America*. If you have not yet read this challenging and revealing book, order your copy at once. A best seller.

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By Rev. Michael O'Carroll, C.S.Sp., D.D.  
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THE chapters here gathered together may be regarded as a set of variations on a theme of Blessed Grignion de Montfort: "God wishes to reveal and discover Mary, the Masterpiece of His Hands, in these latter times." Fr. O'Carroll sees the remedy for the ills of the modern world in a fuller understanding of our Lady's position and power. The cumulative effect of his reasoning is most effective and convincing. He eschews mere sentiment and bases everything on solid theological foundations. For that very reason his book should have a wide appeal and may be cordially recommended to clergy and laity alike.

### ST. JOHN of the CROSS, DOCTOR of DIVINE LOVE

By Father Gabriel, O.D.C.  
Translated by a Benedictine of Stanbrook Abbey  
202 pages \$3.25

THIS will be the standard account of St. John's doctrine for many years to come. Fr. Gabriel is the official spokesman of the "Teresian School", and he has performed his task with an abundance of theological learning and practical wisdom (a good example of the latter is his treatment of the supposed conflict between St. Teresa and St. John in the matter of meditation on the Sacred Humanity). St. John's teaching appears in an intelligible and (in the best sense) attractive form. The translator deserves our gratitude for putting at our disposal a text which contains so much of the highest value for the Christian life; the author's thought has been very carefully reproduced.

### MARRIAGE—THE GREAT MYSTERY

By Abbe Robert Kothen  
Translated by Eva J. Ross  
115 pages \$2.25

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thrill of battle in the air, on land and sea, in the jungle; and finally arrive at their horrible moments of disaster when they wrestled with despair and death.

Some of the writing is excellent, although the editor rightly insists that the book is above all a social document. The reader, if not an atheist, will be happy to know how many of these veterans turned to God in their hour of trial, how much loyalty and charity existed in the hearts of men trained to kill. Some were sadly confused about moral values, others seem never to have heard that cleanliness of heart is among the beatitudes.

The editor inserts several sketches of brothels which are revoltingly biological. Insist with St. Paul on a decent reticence and Mr. Wolfe has you dubbed in advance an "arm-chair moralist." This book needs no rancid bait to allure the prurient and to gain, perhaps, an unsavory notoriety. It is of far different caliber. It contains true stories of heroism, of conquest of fear, of inspiring religious moments.

Appended is an address of General Eisenhower delivered at graduation. He was not ashamed to speak of God to the disabled veterans.

GEORGE T. EBERLE

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### THE GIRL AND THE FERRYMAN

By Ernst Wiechert. Pilot Press. 206p.  
\$2.75

This moving little story by the German writer whom Klaus Mann calls "today perhaps the most widely read, most respected author in the Reich," reminds one of Jean Giono's *Regain*. It tells of Jürgen, a simple, strong-backed peasant who ferries passengers across a stream hard by his acre of land. Jürgen takes to wife a frightened girl and tries to soothe away her fear by dedicating to her his tender love and devoted toil. But the menace threatening the happiness of the couple is more deadly than Giono's scissors-grinder. A fanatic preacher, aided by malicious villagers, persecutes the couple, and lays a curse on their fruitfulness and that of their land.

Hating the wicked preacher, yet drawn to him, Jürgen's wife at last rids herself of his spell by stabbing the wretch to death. A merciful court sentences her to a year in prison after which she is free to return to her husband and bring him their infant son.

Perhaps the over-simplification of the characters and values of this musi-

cal little tale may be put down as necessary to the author's symbolic intent. But the story's mystic emphasis on bread and soil, its preoccupation with the primitive and the instinctive, cause the reader some uneasiness. The atmosphere is too reminiscent of Giono, too suggestive of Knut Hamsen, those writers who began with themes of bread, earth and primitive strength, and ended by going over to the forces that exalted instinct above reason, earth above light, myth above conscious freedom. Despite Weichert's heroic defiance of the Nazis, despite the undeniable power and lyricism of this present story, it is impossible not to suspect elements in his work not wholly strange to the cult of the infra-national that led to the German catastrophe.

J. G. BRENNAN

## The Word

CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR TENDENCY to solemnize the trivial and snub the significant is the fact that we who so roundly disdain lukewarmness in our soups so readily condone it in our souls. As a spiritual predicate lukewarmness means an anesthesia of spirit, a torpor of soul and slumbering neutrality which cannot be awakened to any active allegiances, is allergic to any motivation however sublime, is loyal only to the negative gods of lethargy.

As Dante and Virgil entered the *Inferno* they discovered, close inside the grim gates, a whole host of spirits who during their lives, had "lived without blame and without praise." The poet of ancient Rome told the poet of dogmatic Rome that these people were forever allied with the angels who, when Lucifer raised revolt in Heaven, "were not rebellious, nor were faithful to God; but were for themselves." Neither in Heaven nor in Hell, these spirits, fiercely goaded by hornets and wasps, were forever condemned to pursue a banner because in their somnolent lives they had never embraced a cause. It is a poetical description of the lukewarm, the spiritually inert, whose only motion is drifting, whose only ambition is disengagement.

Extreme as that may seem, there are still many Catholics whom the description fits, as St. James intimates in the Epistle for the Fifth Sunday after Easter. They hear the word of God,

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they are vaguely attracted by its beauty, but they refuse to reduce it to action. In the Gospel, as in a mirror, they see the reflection of the ideal Christian, but they go away and forget that challenging image. Almost every Sunday such people attend the Holy Sacrifice, coming late and leaving early, almost every year they perform their Easter duty at the last minute, but they keep religion severely one of life's minor departments.

Content with themselves, they regard habitual venial sin without alarm and even shrug off with great tolerance occasional mortal sin. If it serves their purposes they tell lies, while reserving the right to resent being called liars. The principles of religion to which they pay lip service on Sunday are left carefully in church, because they would hinder their unscrupulous practices in business on Monday.

Many of them are genteel anti-clerics fiercely critical of the clergy, totally and unintelligently aware of the Church's position on labor problems, education, marriage and even such matters as planned parenthood; and they have the sometimes articulate suspicion that the Church would do well to stay behind her altar-rail.

Now religion is not merely the embracing of a set of bloodless principles; it is an operative love for a person—the Divine Person of the Eternal Word, Our Lord, Jesus Christ. If ever there was a life marked by a singleness of purpose and an inextinguishable ardor which is an immortal reproach to lukewarmness, that life was His. From His first recorded utterance, which dedicated His life to the Father's business (Luke 2:49), down to the declining moments of His final agony, when He announced the completion of His mission (John 19:30), His days were consumed by a tireless love. The cry which has twisted the hearts of saints for centuries was the tortured "I thirst" (John 19:28) and while we know that He burned with literal thirst, we realize that the real fever was the mystical desire for our love. Lukewarmness, the tepid return of a spiritually arid life to Him Who did so much for us and died for us, is an insult.

St. James holds the mirror up to us this morning. Look into it frankly and see yourself as God sees you. Are you really religious "or deceiving your own heart"; does your insincerity make your religion vain? Are you a languorous listener to the word or a loving doer of it?

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.

## Theatre

TOPS OF THE SEASON. Last year the members of the New York Drama Critics Circle, a coterie of first-night gentry of the press, were unable to agree on a play worthy of the laurel annually awarded to the best of the season; and their disagreement led to a bitter wrangle in the group and to an impulsive resignation from the Circle. To forestall a recurrence of the impasse, the members of the Circle, presumably by a majority vote, decided to award the wreath to some play at the end of every season, even if it was only the best of a bad lot, and a system of balloting was devised which made some kind of choice inevitable. The selection for the present season is Arthur Miller's *All My Sons*, which opened and is still playing in The Coronet.

I think the Critics Circle made what we call in the part of the South where I was born a poor choice. *All My Sons* is a not too expertly written play that is either a love story or social drama. The critics, apparently, have accepted it as important social drama. The favorite cocktail lounges of the critics are too expensive for my liquor allowance, but if I should ever happen to meet them in one of the bars along Eighth or Sixth Avenue, an encounter which would be a minor miracle, I would ask them, collectively and individually, precisely what is socially important in a play which merely asserts that it is illegal and immoral to sell defective equipment to Army purveyors.

During the Civil War profit-hungry merchants sold the War Department muskets that were more dangerous to Union soldiers than bullets fired by their Confederate enemies, and in the war of 1898 rotten beef sold to Army quartermasters killed more American soldiers than Spanish Mausers. Similar malpractices of business men were probably uncovered after the first Punic war and all the national and tribal conflicts before and since. The crime is so universally condemned that even the culprits caught with patriotic blood in their pockets rarely attempt to defend their acts, which removes the element of social conflict from Mr. Miller's play and reduces it to a love story with a war background. As a love story it is far less romantic and exciting than *Happy Birthday*.

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His Eminence Dr. Bernard Griffin, Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, accepts the new Breviary Romanum from Colonel Oliver Crosthwaite-Eyre, M.P., Chairman of Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd. Photograph taken at Claridge's London, Jan. 14th, 1947.

## THE NEW BREVIARIUM ROMANUM

Canon E. J. Mahoney, D.D., Professor of Moral Theology at St. Edmund's College, Ware, writing in the *Clergy Review*, February, 1947, says:—

"The publishers justly regard the publication of this Breviary as an important event, seeing that apart from Husenbeth's pocket edition of 1830 it is the first to be printed in this country since the Reformation . . . Bearing in mind the pioneering nature of this enterprise, one would gladly be prepared to overlook any blemishes, but a careful examination of the volumes has revealed none at all: . . . the paper is good . . . type very legible . . . format convenient . . . leather binding truly executed . . .

" This edition contains all the new offices promulgated up to the time of printing, such as the Common of Supreme Pontiffs and the office for the feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary . . .

" . . . where the editors have been particularly successful is in facilitating recitation of the divine office by eliminating cross references. The Preces Dominicales et Feriales are printed in full on each day in the Psalter, not only at Lauds and Prime but at each little hour; the antiphons at Lauds proper to the week preceding Christmas are also printed in the Psalter; the proper antiphons used at Lauds

are repeated for the little hours, including Prime . . . we know of no edition which applies this principle of repetition so thoroughly as in the present book. There is even at the close of each volume an overlap, in order to include the First Vespers of the succeeding part . . .

" Some might have expected that the new Latin Psalter promulgated last year would be incorporated in this edition, but it was wisely decided to retain the old version until the new is finally and irrevocably approved. That this has not yet happened is evident from the concluding words in the preface to the second edition of the new Psalter: "Hanc enim, etsi interim, post 'typicam' quae dictur editionem, firma et immutata conservatur, tamen, ubi opus erit, aliquantulum mutari posse speramus, cum quando nova haec Psalmorum interpretatio omnium usui praescribenda videbitur." The preface gives a cordial invitation to everyone using the Psalter to make suggestions for its improvement, an invitation which has been accepted very heartily by writers in *La Maison Dieu* and other French periodicals. It is clearly advisable to retain the old version until the new is finally settled, when its use will be not merely permissible but obligatory; in the meanwhile we may continue to address the Lord, for example in Ps. 17 (18), as "Fortitudo mea" instead of "arx mea" . . .

" . . . Eleven guineas is a just and reasonable price to pay for this Breviary . . ."



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fects either a permanent or current controversy, some problem that affects the welfare of society, or the conflict between the individual and the state, or man's effort to resist the tyranny of a hostile universe. The most controversial play of the season was *Christopher Blake*, a drama of divorce, which was not even mentioned in the critics' balloting. Precisely why the critics preferred *All My Sons* over *Christopher Blake* is a mystery I shall never solve. The only rational answer I can think of is that they were asleep when they voted.

Their selection of *No Exit*, a morbid French play, in preference to *The Whole World Over*, a wholesome Russian comedy, as the best foreign play is another choice one would expect of somnambulists. The French play was structurally superior, of course; but it put its audiences to sleep while the Russian play kept them laughing.

The critics proceeded from bad, in selecting the best American drama of the season, to worse, in choosing the best foreign play, to worst, when they voted *Brigadoon* the best musical of the year, as if they had never heard of *Finian's Rainbow*.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

## Films

**CARNEGIE HALL.** Hollywood's tribute to a cultural landmark is either a memorial melodrama enhanced by good music or an ambitious concert burdened with a sentimental story. It is the familiar hybrid, apologetically mixing symphony orchestras and sentimental clichés in order to be all things to all tastes. The result is that patrons who appreciate the music will deprecate the plot and the others could have followed the story with no more instrumental aids than a violin and a kettledrum. The yarn involves a woman, practically raised in the famous hall through the happy social accident of her aunt's presiding as matron, who dreams of making a concert pianist of her son. The wayward youth prefers lower musical forms, but a compromise solution finds him conducting a swing symphony on the ivied platform. Edgar Ulmer has much less to direct than maestri Damrosch, Reiner, Stokowski and Rodzinski; and Marsha Hunt, William Prince and Frank McHugh are correspondingly less fortunate in their material than Ezio Pinza, Rise Stevens,

Lily Pons and Jascha Heifetz. Viewed from the podium, the production is excellent and, since there is small point in saying the film should be heard and not seen, it is recommended to general audiences. (*United Artists*)

**HIGH BARBAREE.** Censorious persons who complain that films lack faith miss the point that the screen is a monument to faith in all the wrong things, such as luck, coincidence, the happy ending and the essential virtuousness of characters who do not practise virtue. This story is an amiable example. Two Navy fliers adrift on a disabled seaplane keep up morale by heading for an imaginary island, while one reviews his life to beguile the time and provide a lengthy flashback. At the point where the island should have been there is, of course, a rescue party. An overlay of symbolism protects the device from close scrutiny, and the domestic realism of the flashback is sound and engaging. Jack Conway directed and Van Johnson, Cameron Mitchell, June Allyson and Thomas Mitchell are effectively cast. A general emphasis on decency and courage helps make this good family entertainment. (*MGM*)

**RAMROD.** This is an exploitation of familiar Western material, done with prodigality of funds and poverty of imagination. The struggle between cattlemen and sheep-raisers provides a stock background as a woman rancher sets out to avenge herself on a cattle baron who has ruined her fiancé. The unscrupulous lady manages to persuade a roving cowboy to accomplish her objective, but is finally punished when he makes his romantic choice in a better direction. André de Toth relies on noise and mere movement to suggest a spectacular basis for the production, and the whole thing looks like last year's sombrero unskillfully done over. Joel McCrea, Veronica Lake and Preston Foster are featured. Heavy-handed stress on the siren angle puts this in the *adult bracket*. (*United Artists*)

**NEW ORLEANS.** Another explanation of the birth of jazz, this film goes back some thirty years for reasonable accuracy and the opportunity to exploit a period. It need not be remarked at this late date that the new music triumphs over something better. A society belle trained for an operatic career marries a Basin Street gambler and so far reforms him as to make him a jazz impresario. Arthur Lubin's direction is

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good enough, and Arturo de Cordova and Dorothy Patrick work out the romantic problem and musical destiny in a creditable fashion. This is a standard adult trifle. (*United Artists*)

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

## Parade

THE STORY NEVER SEEMS TO grow stale. . . . A metropolitan newspaper featured it again a week or so ago. . . . The hero is one of those rare individuals who can be depended on to do the job at hand. . . . Dispatched from Washington to deliver a message under almost impossible conditions, "he landed by night off the coast of Cuba, disappeared into the jungle, and in three weeks came out on the other side of the island, having traversed a hostile country on foot, and delivered his letter to Garcia." . . . The feat was made famous by Elbert Hubbard's *A Message to Garcia*. . . . When the Spanish-American war broke, President McKinley had to get word quickly to Garcia, leader of the Cuban insurgents who was hiding in some unknown spot in the Cuban Hills, with Spanish troops controlling all the approaches. . . . An army officer named Rowan was recommended as the man who would do the job. . . . In Washington, McKinley handed Rowan the message. . . . In the Cuban hills, less than three weeks later, Rowan handed it to Garcia. . . . Hubbard, lamenting the scarcity of human beings who can be counted on in any and all circumstances, demanded that Rowan's form be "cast in deathless bronze and the statue placed in every college of the land. Young men . . . need a stiffening of the vertebrae which concentrate their energies." The Rowan-type man is wanted everywhere, Hubbard continued. . . . "The world cries out for such; he is needed badly—the man who can carry a message to Garcia."

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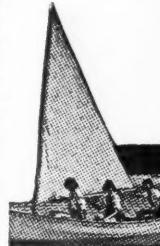
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# Correspondence

## Moral Theology and labor

**EDITOR:** I read with a growing sense of excitement Godfrey P. Schmidt's article, "Moral theology and labor," in your April 26 issue. Mr. Schmidt's suggestion that a group of trained minds focus on the moral and ethical issues involved in that area of human affairs called labor relations is a challenging one, indeed. I only hope that one of the universities or the Catholic Theological Society of America, to which his suggestion is addressed, will respond to it.

I can attest to Mr. Schmidt's competence for advancing such a proposal. Not very long ago, I was the impartial chairman of a three-man arbitration board sitting in a dispute which had developed between a Catholic institution and a CIO union. Mr. Schmidt had been designated by the employer as its representative on the board.

In some ways it was a case unique in my experience. The relations between the parties were governed not by a standard labor agreement, but by a "Letter of Accord" which the management of the institution had given the union in lieu of a contract. In this "Letter of Accord," the institution had stated that its relations with its employes were to be "guided by the spirit of the encyclicals . . ."

The case before us involved a discharge, and for a time our board—the third member of which was Mr. David S. Freedman, who was the union's representative on the panel—could find no basis for agreement. Then, somehow, the discussion among the board members veered around to a discussion of ethics, and we were able to subscribe unanimously to the following:

We, three laymen of diverse faith, are charged with the responsibility of applying those principles [the principles of the encyclicals]. In all humility we have, by agreeing to serve as a board of arbitration, accepted that high responsibility. We are unanimous in believing that the spirit behind those principles, as it applies to the matter before us, may be characterized as 'Forgiveness . . . Mercy . . . Charity of Spirit'.

With this as our guide, our dilemma is resolved. J. H. was employed by \_\_\_\_\_ for

fifteen years prior to his discharge. . . . The greatest charity of spirit, the greatest abundance of forgiveness, could not be strained to bear the burden of excessive error. J. H. was guilty of error and must be held to account.

We think that the discipline exacted by denying his back pay claim is partial expiation of this error. Perhaps it is insufficient expiation, but, guided by the spirit of the encyclicals of the Holy Father, we are unanimous in believing that refusal to reinstate J. H. in his job would do some violence to the principles which \_\_\_\_\_ asks should govern this relationship.

MERLYN S. PITZEL  
*Labor Editor,*  
Business Week

New York, N. Y.

**EDITOR:** Finally, or better, at long last, a *vox clamantis in deserto* says, "prepare ye the way."

Mr. Godfrey P. Schmidt's respectful and intelligent plea for "a moral theology of labor relations" deserves practical consideration.

"A case book on the ethics and moral theology of labor relations" would, as Mr. Schmidt says, "bring the intellectual acumen and spiritual discernment of moral experts to bear upon some important *immediacies* which plague Christian consciences today."

I hope that Mr. Schmidt's proposed plan, or some plan along the lines of his suggestions, will be taken up at once. We need it.

Newark, N. J. JOHN A. MATTHEWS

## Homerica nods

**EDITOR:** Although Aristotle and William James were, each in his own way, singular men, it is an attack on grammar, mathematics and ethical pluralism to lump them and many another anonymous thinker under a singular verb, as the Word (AMERICA, April 26) recently did. Likewise in the same column we have the Apostles keeping vigil after the visitation of the Holy Spirit. They were always, I am sure, devoted to the contemplative interludes of their lives and frequently renewed themselves in prayer; but for the sake of emphasis, it does seem to me that vigil was caught up in vision on Pente-

cost and overflowed then in that apostolic venture which was to teach all nations. I realize how hard your proof-readers had to work that week, with the special book supplement, but I am currently under fire from both grammarians and theologians.

WILLIAM A. DONAGHY, S.J.  
Weston, Mass.

(If Father Donaghy sends us such instructive corrections, we shall be inclined to let a few more slips creep into the Word.—EDITOR)

## Land concentration

**EDITOR:** I submit the indictment that Senator Downey of California, together with the other Senators and Representatives who advocate the repeal of the 160-acre limitation, are communist sympathizers who would wreck the economic basis of our democracy, i.e. ownership of productive property in the hands of the many.

I quote herewith the statement of Otto Bauer, a follower of Karl Marx. His words were spoken at the Vienna Congress in 1925:

Marxian socialism has taught us a different method. It has taught us the new society will be prepared through the objective development of capitalism itself; that we have to socialize only that which, through the great process of concentration of capital within the capitalistic social order, and under the command of the capitalists themselves, is already socialized. We have only to break the capitalistic shell of such a society by the annihilation of private property in order to pass from a capitalistic to a socialistic organization of society.

It is very plain that the ones who advocate larger landholdings are the real forerunners of communism. It is they who clear the path either through malice or ignorance. Real Communists are working for the repeal of the 160-acre limitation. The National Catholic Rural Life Conference is fighting against it. We stand on the side of Christianity and democracy.

(RT. REV. MGR.) LUIGI G. LICUTTI  
*Executive Secretary, National Catholic Rural Life Conference*  
Des Moines, Iowa

## Correction

**EDITOR:** Dr. William V. Dennis is professor of rural sociology at Penn State, not Dennis, as Father Lucey had it in his article, "The Trend Toward Paganism in America" (April 26).

ANDREW W. CASE  
Pennsylvania State College, Pa.

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